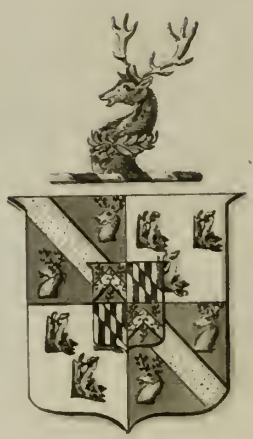
S. Brough



Benjamin Haworth.

A Map for the Expedition of Annibal Engraved with some difference in the Route from the Map of Mr. D'Anville

Lemanus L. Rhodanus Geneva Octodurus Alpes Penninæ Vienna Allobroges Salassi Insubres Mediolanum Centrones Graioceli Cularo Alpes Secusiæ Ticorini Vocontii Taurini Caturiges Helvii Tricastini Cavares Segusiani Ocelum Vercellæ Bergomum Brixia Verona Mantua Cremona Placentia Parma Mutina Bononia Ravenna Rubico Fl. Ariminum Pisaurum Urbinum Sena Gallica Ancona Auximum Firmum Truentus Fl. Asculum Atternus Fl. Pinna Sagrus Fl. Diomedeæ Ll. Frento Fl. Sipontum Aufidus Fl. Barium Brundusium Tarentum Heraclea Sybaris Iapygium Pr. Petilia Neæthus Fl. Crotona Lacinium Pr. Scylacium Cocintum Pr. Zephyrium Pr. Locri Epizephyrii Rhegium Messana Hipponium Terina Æoliæ Ins. Liparæ Panormus Drepanum Himera Segesta Eryx Lilybæum Motya Solus Panhormus Carales Sulci Nora Bosa Olbia Uselis Thaphros Alsium Tarquinii Veii Caere Argentarius M. Ostia Ardea Antium Aricia Lanuvium Velitræ Volsci Terracina Circæum Pr. Caieta Fundi Formiæ Capua Vulturnus Fl. Cumæ Neapolis Nuceria Caprea I. Salernum Picentia Pæstum Pyxus Palinurum Pr. Velia Volaterræ Luca Pisæ Portus Veneris Luna Genua Vada Sabatia Albium Ingaunum Antipolis Nicæa Massilia Telo Stœchades Is. Agatha Ostia Rh. Arelate Druentia Fl. Cebenna Ms. Rhodanus Fl. Garumna Fl. Tolosa Tectosages Alax Fl. Rascino M. Pyren Gerunda Emporium Ilerda Sicoris Iberus Fl. Tarraco Barcino Blanda Dertosa Indibilis Oshia Iberi Saguntum Sacrum Pr. Nicæa Ilva Aleria Sardoum Mare Mare Ligusticum Mare Inferum sive Tyrrhenum Mare Superum Hispania Gallia Cisalpina Gallia Ligurica Gallia Narbonensis Italia Venetia Histria Liburnia Dalmatia Picenum Umbria Etruria Latium Volsci Samnium Apulia Lucania Bruttium Sicilia Corsica Sardinia

T. Kitchin Sculp.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF POLYBIUS.

IN FIVE BOOKS.

Tranſlated from the GREEK

By Mr. HAMPTON.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOL. I.

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ROBERT LORD HENLEY,

BARON OF GRAINGE,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

MY LORD,

WHEN the following Tranſlation was firſt ſent abroad, I endeavoured not to ſhelter it under any illuſtrious name. It was more agreeable to my ſentiments, as it ſeemed to be more conſiſtent alſo with candour and with juſtice, that it ſhould find it's way through the

 publick

publick favour to ſome particular patron, than that a patron, how great ſoever, ſhould impoſe it by his ſingle ſanction on the publick. The hopes, which I at that time entertained, are now fully anſwered: and your Lordſhip's approbation has ſtamped the laſt authority upon the general voice.

BUT not content with approving only, your Lordſhip has been pleaſed to intereſt in ſome degree your own name likewiſe in the future fortune of my work; by permitting me to addreſs this new edition of it to your more immediate favour and protection. As this is an indulgence, which muſt on my part always demand the moſt grateful acknowledgements; ſo may I not alſo preſume to add, that it will not perhaps detract even from your own dignity or praiſe, that your Lordſhip, while inveſted with the ho-

nours,

nours, and ſurrounded by the cares, that belong to the firſt and moſt important of all civil offices, withdrew not your attention from thoſe ſtudies, which, in every poliſhed age and country, have been regarded as the ſource of publick wiſdom as well as virtue, and as the ornament of ſocial life. I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt obliged,

and moſt humble Servant,

JAMES HAMPTON.

THE

PREFACE.

AMONG all the Hiſtorians of antiquity, whoſe works have been judged worthy of the admiration or regard of later times, there is none perhaps ſo little known, as the Author who is now offered to the publick. The words, grave, judicious, excellent, are indeed tranſmitted from pen to pen, and fill the mouth of every critick. But though the name of POLYBIUS be thus ſtill accompanied with ſome mark of reſpect and honour, his real character has remained almoſt unnoticed; and his writings, even though confeſſed to be the object of eſteem and praiſe, by degrees have fallen under that kind of neglect and general diſregard, which uſually foreruns oblivion.

It may be uſeful therefore to conſider ſome of the chief among the cauſes, that have concurred to produce ſo perverſe an accident, before we attempt to lead the reader into a cloſer view of thoſe many excellencies that are peculiar to the following Hiſtory, and which drew towards it the attention of the wiſe and learned, in the enlightened times of Greece and Rome.

Amidſt all the advantages, which the moderns are by many ſuppoſed to have gained againſt the ancients, with reſpect to the points of uſeful knowledge, and the enlargement of all true and ſolid ſcience, it cannot but be allowed, that, in the Art of writing, the latter ſtill maintain their rank unrivalled; and that the graces and the charms, the exactneſs, ſtrength,

and

and energy, which make ſeverally the character of their moſt perfect compoſitions, are in vain ſought for in the productions of the preſent age. Thoſe therefore that take into their hands the remains of any celebrated name either of Greece or Rome, are in the firſt place accuſtomed to expect, if not a faultleſs work, yet ſome diſplay at leaſt of that ſuperiority, which the warmeſt emulation has not yet been able to exceed; ſome beamings of thoſe excellencies, which ſtrike and captivate the mind, and render irreſiſtible the words of wiſdom, when delivered from the lips of beauty. It is not therefore judged ſufficient, that the matter be grave and weighty; unleſs the manner alſo be inchanting. In vain are things diſpoſed in order, and words made expreſſive of the ſenſe. We demand likewiſe an arrangement, that may pleaſe the fancy; and a harmony, that may fill the ear. Or on the other hand, if the ſtyle be ſuch as rejects the embelliſhments of art, yet let us find in it at leaſt that full and cloſe conciſeneſs, that commanding dignity, that ſmooth and pure ſimplicity, in a word, thoſe naked graces, which outſhine all ornament.

Such are the expectations of every reader, who has gained a taſte ſufficient to diſcern, that theſe beauties are in fact diffuſed through all the finiſhed pieces of antiquity. For though, even among the ancients, there were as many different ſtyles as authors, yet nature, and ſound criticiſm, which drew it's rules from nature, referred them all to two or three general kinds, of which each had it's eſtabliſhed laws; which, while they ſerved to inſtruct the writer in his art, afforded likewiſe a ſure criterion, by which his works were either cenſured or approved. Was it the purpoſe of an author, to recite paſt events, or convey leſſons of inſtruction, in a language ſimple and unadorned? It was demanded by theſe laws, that his ſtyle ſhould be conciſe and pure: that the ſentiment and diction ſhould be cloſely joined; and no word admitted, that did not add ſomewhat to the ſenſe: that through the whole ſhould be

be found a certain air of eaſe and freedom, mixed however with ſtrength and dignity; and that, void of all appearance of ſtudy and of art, he ſhould ſtrive to make even negligence itſelf alluring. If, on the contrary, his deſire was to excell in the florid kind, the ſame laws required, that the ſimple charms of nature ſhould be adorned with all the elegance and pomp of art: that ſplendid images ſhould flatter and delude the fancy: that the diction ſhould be noble, polite, and brilliant: that every word ſhould be dreſſed in ſmiles: and that the periods ſhould be meaſured with the niceſt care; be joined together in the ſofteſt bands of harmony; and flow intermingled, without obſtacle or pauſe. Laſtly, with reſpect to that likewiſe which was called the intermediate kind of compoſition, theſe laws were careful alſo to preſcribe the proper temperament, in which the beauties of the former two ſhould meet and be united: and to adjuſt the mixture of the graceful and auſtere, the artificial and the ſimple, in ſuch exact proportion, that the one never ſhould prevail againſt the other, but both govern through the whole with a kind of mingled ſway.

Now with regard to the Author of the following work, it muſt freely be acknowledged, that, inſtead of having gained any approved degree of excellence in either of theſe eſtabliſhed modes of compoſition, he on the contrary revolts alike againſt the laws of all. Inſtead of charms that might allure, an energy that might command, or flowing ſoftneſs that might carry with it the attention of the reader, we meet at every ſtep ſome deformity which exites diſguſt, ſome coldneſs which offends, ſome obſtacles which expoſe our patience to the ſevereſt proof. Inſtead of elegant ſimplicity, we find in every part a ruſtick coarſeneſs: inſtead of a neat and clear conciſeneſs, a redundance of impure expreſſion: inſtead of an aſſemblage of kindred images, alluſions remote and forced: and in the place of a full, majeſtick, and continued harmony, ſounds

that fatigue and wound the ear, periods broken and tranſverſed. It cannot therefore be greatly wondered at, that many, even among the warm admirers of antiquity, ſhould have been diſcouraged from peruſing writings, which are void of all the charms of nature and of art; which diſplay neither elegance nor ſtrength; neither eaſe nor dignity; ſimplicity nor majeſty; but are in every part disfigured, either by taſteleſs and ill-ſorted ornaments, or a negligence that is wholly deſtitute of grace.

But beſides the utter want of all thoſe beauties, that reign through the compoſitions of the other celebrated ancients, there is alſo in POLYBIUS one eminent vice, which muſt be allowed to have been not leſs the cauſe, than that now mentioned, of the almoſt general diſregard to which his works have been condemned. This is the Obſcurity, which is found as we may ſay in every page, through all the following Hiſtory. For it is not that obſcurity, which ſprings ſolely from thoſe ancient manners, cuſtoms, ſcience, diſcipline, which, though they were familiar to the times in which the author wrote, are unknown to the preſent age. Nor is it that only on the other hand, which is cauſed by the ravages of years; that, which never fails to attend a mangled or corrupted text. But it is ſuch, as may well be termed a congenial and inbred obſcurity: an obſcurity, which reſults from complicated and embaraſſed ſenſe; from periods diſordered and tranſpoſed; from uſeleſs expletives; and from words, which are either deſtitute of any ſignification, or employed in one ſo different from their own, that even thoſe, who are moſt converſant in the language, are oftentimes intangled in a maze of doubt and intricacy, from which, after all their efforts, they are never able to get free.

Some other cauſes of lighter moment, might be mentioned, as having in part contributed to produce the effect of which

which we are ſpeaking *. But theſe are the principal, and moſt important. And indeed to ſay the truth, how reaſonable

* Among theſe, we may juſt take notice of an opinion which has prevailed with many, that the following Hiſtory, with reſpect both to the matter which it contains, and the manner alſo in which the work is executed, tends principally to promote the improvement of that knowledge which relates to war, and cannot even eaſily be underſtood, but by thoſe only who have paſſed their life in camps. This prejudice, if it drew not it's beginning, ſeems however to have been chiefly propagated, from the pains of a lively Frenchman, who ſome years ago preſented the Author to the publick in all the pomp of military dreſs; and, under the weight of an enlarged and bulky Comment, in which the ſentiment now mentioned is every where induſtriouſly repeated and enforced, ſtifled the merit of a judicious and ſenſible Tranſlation. But his profeſſion, it ſeems, was that of arms: and moſt admirably does ſelf-love perform it's part. For being firſt perſuaded, that, among all the objects of human knowledge and inquiry, there was none more noble and important than the Art in which himſelf was ſkilled, he boldly miſtakes, for the characteriſtical diſtinction in the Original, that which was only an incidental excellence; and from thence forms, as he expreſſes it, the grand deſign of raiſing, upon thoſe materials that were before him, a complete military ſtructure: as if the purpoſe of this great Hiſtorian had been ſimply to compoſe a body of Tactics, or a treatiſe on the Stratagems of War; and not rather to illuſtrate and explain the moſt ſublime of all the ſubjects of Civil ſcience, which the annals of mankind can boaſt; to ſhew, "from what cauſes, and through what kind of government, almoſt the whole habitable world, in leſs than the courſe of fifty-three years, was reduced beneath the Roman yoke." But indeed the whole weakneſs and abſurdity of this conceit will appear ſo manifeſt from the very firſt pages of the Hiſtory, that it is not neceſſary to employ in this place any greater pains to expoſe it. I ſhall therefore only add, with reſpect to the opinion above-mentioned, that firſt, it is by no means in general true, as the favourers of this opinion are ever ready to affirm, that the deſcription of ſieges and of battles, as they occur in ancient authors, cannot eaſily be underſtood, but by thoſe only who have paſſed their life in camps. If indeed the buſineſs, that is here required, were to weigh the difficulties, and to decide concerning the expediency or the raſhneſs, of any military enterprize; to applaud, or to condemn, the diſpoſition of an army in the field; to diſplay the prudence, or to detect the errors, of a General; this would doubtleſs be a province, which every man of letters would moſt willingly reſign, to thoſe whoſe ſtudies and experience had qualified them in a more peculiar manner to be judges in it. But when the taſk, as in reading or tranſlating, is ſimply to apprehend the meaning of the terms in any ancient and dead language, it is clear that this can be only done, and that in moſt caſes it has been done effectually, by ſurveying the analogy of the language, examining well the context, and tracing all the various ſignifications, in which the ſame terms are uſed by different writers. Secondly, theſe deſcriptions, as they are more full and perfect, are more perſpicuous alſo in POLYBIUS, than thoſe that are found in

able muſt it be thought, that ſuch an Author ſhould at once be abandoned to oblivion or contempt: unleſs perhaps there ſhould be found, under this rough covering, ſome delicious kind of fruit; ſome excellencies, which may be eſteemed a more than equal counterpoiſe to his defects. And this is that which we ſhall now conſider.

In all the various hiſtory of that great people, whoſe power, from ſmall and contemptible beginnings, was by degrees extended to the limits of the world, and whoſe virtue, policy, and laws, are ſtill reſpected and approved, if there be any part more uſeful, more important, and more illuſtrious than the reſt, it is beyond all doubt, that very Period which furniſhed the materials of the following work. A period, not weakened and deformed by ſenſeleſs fictions, the offspring of wild vanity and impure tradition; but reſting on the grounds of ſolid truth, and unſuſpected teſtimony. A period, which diſplays this celebrated Empire, not ſtruggling with the dangers and the ills of feeble infancy, nor tottering under the oppreſſive weight of age: but firm in manly ſtrength, mature in vigour, active, ardent, uncontrouled, invincible. In the ſcene here preſented to us, we are not, on the one hand led to

other writers. For as he had been himſelf employed in the exerciſe of arms, and had joined, to a conſummate ſkill, a long experience likewiſe in the art of war, he from thence was able to relate all military events with clearneſs and preciſion; to aſſign to every term it's own proper place and peculiar ſenſe; and to avoid that intricacy, in which the hiſtorians, who have tranſmitted to us an account of the Roman wars, are frequently intangled. In the laſt place we may remark, that the intention of the author in that very Comment, of which we have been ſpeaking, was not, as is commonly ſuppoſed, to illuſtrate or remove the difficulties of the Original, but chiefly to accommodate to his own favourite Syſtem the battles which are there deſcribed; and to make, as himſelf declares, "POLYBIUS more ſubſervient to the Comment, than the Comment to POLYBIUS." From hence therefore has it happened, as it might indeed moſt reaſonably be expected, and as every candid and judicious reader will be ready to acknowledge, that, in the execution of this bold deſign, numberleſs paſſages are tortured, miſunderſtood, and miſapplied; and that even the Prints, which are added in the work, are in many important points defective, and in many alſo repugnant to the plain expreſſions of the text.

view the momentary wars, the precarious and unmeditated conqueſts, the inteſtine feuds and jealouſies, the rage and madneſs of a half-inſtructed, and half-policied people, rough and ſavage in their manners, virtuous to the extreme, and exulting in a licentious and ungovernable freedom. Nor is it, on the other hand, the ſad picture of a State, corrupted and diſpirited through the ſoft arts of luxury, diſgraced by vices, and enſlaved to tyrants. The annals of this Period offer a far nobler ſpectacle: a government arrived at perfect growth, and flouriſhing in the faireſt form: a ſteady, deep, extenſive, and foreſeeing policy: a people, joined together by great and generous ſentiments, even more than by the ties of common intereſt: a ſovereign power, exerted ſolely to maintain the general good: a liberty reſtrained by reaſon, and ſubmiſſive to the authority of laws.

A State, thus framed, and thus conducted, could not long remain inſenſible of its own inherent ſtrength and force. From this time therefore, it ſeemed to be a matter of ſmall moment and importance to the Romans, that they ſhould be able effectually to employ their talents and their power, to maintain their empire in tranquillity and dignity, to afford ſecurity to their allies, and hold all the neighbouring States under due reſtraint. Seated as it were upon a ſtrong and lofty eminence, they begin now to extend their views, even to countries the moſt remote; and reſolve to bend the moſt haughty and moſt powerful kingdoms to their laws. The conqueſt of the world was judged to be an eaſy taſk, to a people, whoſe expectations of ſucceſs were not founded upon their armies, however ſtrong and numerous, nor even upon their military ſkill and diſcipline, however perfect and accompliſhed; but ſprung ſolely from the exertion of a ſteady wiſdom, and ſedate diſcernment; from a foreſight, which had weighed all difficulties; from regular deſigns, whoſe joint dependance was of itſelf ſufficient to carry them into execution; from vigorous counſels,

counſels, which diſdained reſiſtance; and from a firmneſs, which derided ill ſucceſs, and roſe ſuperior to the heavieſt ſtrokes of fortune. Nor did the event in any point deceive their hopes. The moſt ſkilful, dexterous, and undaunted General, of all that the world had ſeen, in vain leads his army from the extreme boundaries of Spain, traverſes, the Pyrenæans, and the Alps, and falls, like thunder, upon Italy. Battle after battle loſt, the braveſt of the legions ſlain, the country waſted and deſtroyed, provinces revolting or ſubdued, in vain threaten the extinction of the name of Rome. The Romans, conſcious ſtill of their ſuperior force, and ſtanding firm againſt misfortune, are perſuaded, that, unleſs themſelves firſt loſe all hope, their country never can be loſt. Their wounds, though deep and bleeding, inſtead of draining from the members all their vital ſtrength, ſerve only to call forth new ſtreams of vigour from the heart. Their policy, their manners, the frame itſelf of the Republick, all join to afford reſources inexhauſtible, and which ſeem even to be multiplied by their defeats. Thus armed, and thus ſupported, what wonder was it, that in the end they ſhould prevail againſt an enemy, whoſe very government itſelf, inſtead of being fortified with the like advantages, was ſuch as baffled even the fortune and the ſkill of their own enterpriſing and triumphant General, and rendered uſeleſs all his victories. Annibal, enfeebled by ſucceſs, exhauſted by continual conqueſt, and in vain exerting his utmoſt efforts to ſubdue a people, who roſe with redoubled ſtrength from every fall, was at laſt forced to return, and employ all his courage and abilities, to reſcue his own proper country from that deſtruction, with which he had ſo lately threatened Rome. But what courage, what abilities, could prolong the exiſtence of an empire, deſtitute of all internal force, and which carried in its boſom the immediate cauſes of decay and diſſolution? The haughty Carthage, the tyrant of Spain and Afric, the ſovereign miſtreſs of commerce

commerce and the ſea, bends her neck to the yoke; and from this time leaves full leiſure to the Romans, to purſue, ſtep by ſtep, the traces of their firſt deſign; to remove each obſtacle, as they advanced; to divide, unite, oppoſe, and counterbalance, the intereſts, and the ſtrength, of the moſt formidable States, till they all became alike incapable of reſiſting, and were in turn compelled to feel and to acknowledge, that they had no laws left, no counſels, cuſtoms, manners, policy, but the ſole will of this invincible and wiſe Republick*.

Such were the times in which POLYBIUS lived; and ſuch the ſpectacle, which he choſe to illuſtrate in his writings. A ſpectacle, tranſcending all that can be offered to our view, I do not ſay in the rude age of Rome, but in thoſe admired and boaſted annals likewiſe which belong to the later periods of this great empire; as much as diſorder is excelled by union; effeminate baſeneſs, by heroick bravery; corrupted manners, by diſintereſted virtue; vile ſubmiſſion, by a generous and manly love of liberty; or the little arts of jealous tyrants and ambitious miniſters, temporary ſhifts, and expedients of a day, by that enlarged and powerful Policy, which looks forwards to all future time, embraces every object, and attracts within the circle of it's ſyſtem every poſſible event.

As the Subject therefore is thus great and intereſting, let us in the next place examine likewiſe, whether the Work itſelf be not diſtinguiſhed alſo by ſome peculiar characters of excellence,

* It ſeemed unneceſſary to enter here into any more circumſtantial or particular detail of the deſign and limits of the Hiſtory, or to enumerate ſingly all the events which it contained: not only becauſe the Author himſelf has given a very diſtinct and clear account both of the general form and nature of his undertaking, and of the diſtribution and the order of it's ſeveral parts; but becauſe it has happened likewiſe, that of the whole original Work, which was extended to the number of forty Books, five only have been reſcued from the hand of time. Yet theſe, as they are come to us entire, ſo are they perfect alſo with reſpect to the ſubjects of which they treat; and will, if I miſtake not, fully exemplify all that is affirmed, concerning the character, and peculiar talents, of the Author.

that raiſe it above other Hiſtories, and which ſerve clearly to illuſtrate and enforce the dignity and whole importance of the events of which it treats.

If we conſider firſt, what kind of talents, genius, and abilities ſhould be required, to diſplay in the fulleſt light the wonders of ſo auguſt a ſcene, and to point out diſtinctly, to the preſent and to future times, all the advantages that might be drawn from a period thus pregnant with inſtruction, it will at once be obvious to remark, that ſuch a Work muſt very far exceed the higheſt reach of any Rhetorician, however eloquent and learned, or any Sophiſt, however penetrating and acute; and could only be ſucceſsfully performed, by one, whoſe knowledge of mankind, and long practice in the affairs of government, joined to an habitual and cloſe attention to the deſigns, the workings, and effects, of policy, had enabled him to lift up the veil, and to view at leiſure the ſecret ſprings, that actuated, and puſhed forwards, all the great machine: by one, whoſe fortunes and condition had opened to him the means of being perfectly inſtructed and informed: by one, who had been himſelf a witneſs to the events which he relates, or had received his accounts at leaſt from thoſe that were: by one, whom credulity, or vanity, never could incline, to diſgrace the truth by ſplendid miracles, and deform fact by fiction: and laſtly, by one, whoſe natural love of virtue, and conſciouſneſs of the importance of the truſt in which he had engaged, ſhould force his own paſſions, humour, intereſt, to fall back and diſappear, and ſubſtitute in their place an exactneſs, candour, and fidelity, ſuperior to reproach or cenſure, and exempt from all ſuſpicion.

Such muſt be the writer, to whoſe teſtimony we ſhould yield a full aſſent, to whoſe authority we ſhould ſubmit, and whoſe wiſdom we ſhould blindly truſt, to guide us, through the long labyrinth of cauſes and events, into a clear and comprehenſive view of the motions, advancement, and whole progreſs,

greſs, of the Roman greatneſs: and ſuch, in every point, was that Hiſtorian, whoſe character we are here endeavouring to deſcribe. Illuſtrious by his birth, and not leſs diſtinguiſhed by the greatneſs of his ſentiments, the wiſdom of his counſels, his ſkill in war, his ſteady virtue, and ſincere attachment to the intereſts of his country, he began to be conſidered, even in early age, as the chief ſupport of that Republick, in whoſe firmneſs were depoſited the ſmall remains of Grecian liberty. As on the one hand therefore, his rank, and his abilities, with the important parts which he ſuſtained in every publick meaſure and debate, diſcloſed to him all the various ſcenes of government; ſo the condition alſo of the times, and his earneſt zeal for the general good, urged him on the other hand to call forth every talent into action; to ſurvey with the niceſt care the preſent and paſt fortunes of his country; to trace backwards every ſtep, by which ſubjection had advanced towards them in the place of glory; and to review, to weigh, and to examine, the deſigns, effects, and influence of that artful and ambitious policy, which, after having conquered or deluded ſo many different nations, had at laſt triumphed likewiſe over Greece, and, under the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring every city to independency and freedom, had in reality infolded all alike in ſilken fetters, to be looſened, or ſtrained cloſe, as occaſion ſhould demand.

Such talents, ſuch experience, and ſuch reſearches, might doubtleſs have delayed, though not averted, the laſt fatal ſtroke, which not long afterwards completed the deſtruction of the Achæans, and of Greece. But the Romans, from whoſe attention the moſt diſtant danger never could eſcape, made haſte to deprive a people, whom they had deſtined to be ſlaves, of the aſſiſtance and ſupport of every citizen, whoſe courage, or abilities, ſeemed likely to ſpread wide a contagious ſpirit, and, together with the love of freedom, to inſpire alſo by degrees a ſtrength ſufficient to ſhake off the yoke.

This baniſhment, which was decreed in common to all the inhabitants of Peloponneſus, whoſe virtue was become their crime, as it was honourable to POLYBIUS, proved highly beneficial likewiſe to all future times. Torn by violence from the ſervice of his country, and fixed to a long abode in that great City, which was the fountain of all the counſels that directed and ſuſtained the Roman empire, he had now both leiſure and the means, to draw together the inſtruction that was requiſite, for carrying into execution the deſign which he had formed; to compare obſervation and conjecture with fact and certainty; to copy the detail of all great events from authentick monuments, and from the memoirs of thoſe illuſtrious perſons, who had been the chief actors in the ſcene; to view cloſely, and without diſguiſe, the manners, temper, inclinations, and whole conduct of a people, who had thus forced the moſt powerful kingdoms to receive their laws; to inſpect all the movements of that regulated wiſdom, which had ſaved their State from imminent ruin; and to trace to their ſources thoſe internal ſprings of ſtrength and vigour, which had nouriſhed and enlarged it's growth: in a word, to compoſe that Hiſtory, which, piercing through the clouds of ignorance and error, aſſigned to every incident it's own genuine motive; unfolded the moſt complicated cauſes; and by joining to an exact and accurate deſcription of wars, embaſſies, and treaties, a full and diſtinct diſplay, of the counſels, maxims, laws, the prudence, conſtancy, and courage, with the whole military and domeſtic diſcipline, that were peculiar to the Romans, made it manifeſt to all mankind, that the greatneſs, to which this people had now raiſed their empire, was by no means the work of fortune, or the effect of a bold and enterprizing raſhneſs; but the neceſſary and mature reſult of ſtrenuous efforts and regular deſigns, conducted by a firm and penetrating policy, which no precautions could elude, and no force was able to ſubdue.

In

In diſcharging a taſk of ſo great extent and difficulty, and of ſuch vaſt importance likewiſe in it's uſe, it cannot ſurely be thought aſtoniſhing or ſtrange, that this wiſe Hiſtorian ſhould have been diverted, or withheld, from paying a due attention to the embelliſhments of art, and charms of eloquence. But whatever cenſure may be thrown upon him, for having ſlighted all thoſe graces, which would doubtleſs have diffuſed ſome luſtre through his work, it muſt be acknowledged on the other hand, that, together with them, he has rejected likewiſe all the falſe, though ſpecious, ornaments, which diſgrace the compoſitions even of the moſt eſteemed and wiſeſt ancients. The deſire to ſtrike and ſurprize, to pleaſe and captivate, diverſified perhaps according to the different talents of the writer, has in all times covered Hiſtory with a deluſive glare, which ſerves only to miſlead us from that knowledge, which is the object of our ſearch. Hence that unnatural mixture of record with tradition, truth with fable, and the long train of brilliant wonders, which are ſcattered through the annals of almoſt every age and every people. Hence thoſe diſcourſes and harangues, which, having been forged and moulded in the ſhade of contemplative and obſcure retirement, confound all diſtinctions, of men, characters, and times. Hence likewiſe all the laboured pageantry, the adventitious and far-ſought circumſtances, which are brought to ſwell deſcription, and to adorn and dignify the ſcene: to fill the mind with admiration; to melt into compaſſion; or to ſubdue by terror. Hence laſtly that ambitious care, which is diſcovered even in the graveſt writers; who, not content with having copied the bare features of the original that was before them, like painters call forth all their ſkill, to give alſo a finiſhing to the piece; and join, to the reſemblance that is found in nature, thoſe ſtrokes, which enlarge and heighten each deformity, or ſpread a fuller brightneſs over every beauty. But to the Author, whoſe work we are now

conſidering, it was reſerved as his peculiar praiſe, to have firſt diſcerned, that Hiſtory, if ſhe would prove a ſecure and uſeful guide, muſt walk hand in hand with life: and that inſtruction, whether moral or political, was never to be fixed upon the weak foundation of imaginary facts. It is not therefore the Writer, whom we view before us, eager of applauſe, and impatient to draw from us an admiration of his art, in having decked the truth in a ſplendid dreſs, and thrown into her train a gay aſſemblage of well-fancied, poſſible events. But it is the Stateſman, the General, the Philoſopher, who ſpeaks to us, as in his cloſet, in familiar language; recounts ſimply all that was tranſacted; confirms facts by teſtimony; and enables us to derive an eaſy and immediate profit likewiſe from the prudence or miſconduct of paſt times, by reflections deep and ſolid, and ſuch as our own reaſon cannot but approve, when they are gently enforced upon us, as by the authority of a parent, or urged with the fond affection of a friend.

How ſteadily indeed muſt we revere, and how willingly attend to, the leſſons of a man, whoſe probity ſhines out in every part, even far more conſpicuous than his wiſdom. Blinded by no intereſt, nor ſeduced by any miſtaken zeal, as he never is himſelf deceived, ſo neither does he attempt to lead others into error. Unmoved by the ill fate of Greece, and his own loſs of friends and dignity, he deſcribes even thoſe events, which ſeldom fail to awaken ſome reſentment, grief, or jealous hatred, with all the coldneſs of an unconcerned ſpectator; and pays due homage, though unmixed with adulation, to thoſe great qualities, which had raiſed the ſtructure of the Roman glory upon the ruins of his own degenerate country. Hence it is that we diſcern, even upon the ſlighteſt view, a certain candour and ſincerity ſpread through his work, which we in vain ſhould hope to find in other writers: a candour, which never hides the faults of friends, nor tarniſhes the virtues of an enemy: a candour, which preſents all objects in their naked ſtate, free

from the diſguiſe of paſſion; and which weighs contending teſtimonies in an equal ſcale: in a word, a candour, which, like an artleſs honeſty of face, carries even in it's air and firſt appearance thoſe ſtrong proofs of genuine and unfeigned ſimplicity, which irreſiſtably command our approbation, and engage our favour. Such was the Author, who, when living, was the friend, the companion, and inſtructor, of the generous and heroick Scipio: and whoſe writings, in a later age, were the earneſt ſtudy, and chief conſolation alſo, of the wiſe and virtuous Brutus.

It remains, that I now ſpeak a word or two concerning the Tranſlation: not to miſlead the opinion, or prevent the judgment, of the reader; but ſimply to inform him, what it is that he is chiefly to expect from my own endeavours, in the following work.

There are two things, unconnected and diſtinct, which are demanded always of Tranſlators: that they underſtand well the text, and render it alſo well. With regard to the firſt of theſe, in what degree I may have been exempt from errors, muſt be wholly left to others to determine. I can only ſay, that I have ſpared no pains, to arrive at a full and entire conception of the ſenſe; by tracing the Author cloſely through his own peculiar turn and uſe of ſentiments and language; by comparing different texts; conſulting different verſions; and by weighing all the explanations and corrections, that have occaſionally been propoſed.

But in a taſk of this kind, barely to underſtand the meaning of an author, though it often may require indeed both patience and activity, is by much the leaſt part of the toil. To render every word by an equivalent expreſſion, and every ſentence in the ſame juſt meaſure; to preſerve each different character of ſentiment and phraſe; and to delineate, ſtroke by ſtroke, the movements of the mind or heart; theſe are the difficulties in tranſlating, that demand an attention, time, and pains,

pains, which never can be fully known, but by thoſe alone who have made the trial. As theſe difficulties however are either ſlighter, or more hard to be ſurmounted, according to the ſeveral ſtamps of excellence, and the various modes of beauty, that are peculiar to the Originals, it muſt be acknowledged, that in the work of the Author who is now before us, they are by no means ſuch as ſhould diſcourage any one from attempting to give a perfect copy of it in a different language. For there are here no beauties, whoſe ſpirit might be loſt in being transfuſed: no force, or elegance, or juſt propriety, that demand an exact ſimilitude of correſponding terms: no flowing, regulated, numbers, whoſe harmony can only be preſerved by the ſame fixed accents and choſen ſounds: no painting of the paſſions, in which even the ſmalleſt change would mar the likeneſs, and deſtroy all the beauty of the piece. But on the other hand, the very want of theſe excellencies, while it freed me from a heavy and laborious duty, at the ſame time impoſed a taſk upon me, not leſs difficult than the other: the taſk of veiling thoſe deformities that might have raiſed diſguſt; and of clothing the Author, not in any oſtentatious or ſplendid habit, but in a dreſs, which, though ſuitable in every part to his own deportment, air, and character, might be alſo ſuch as ſhould draw towards him the attention and the favour of the preſent age. With this view, I have not ſcrupled to endeavour through the whole, as well by changing ſometimes the expreſſion, as by breaking the order likewiſe of the ſentences, to ſoften what appeared too harſh, and to give a modeſt poliſh to all that was found too rough. In a word, my chief care and pains, after the taſk of reporting faithfully the ſenſe, have been employed to ſpread one ſimple, grave, and ſober colouring over all the work: to render the diction ſtrong, expreſſive, even, and correct: and to give to the periods a roundneſs, a ſtability, and varied cadence. If this part therefore of the labour

ſhould be judged to have been executed with ſucceſs, it is hoped that any omiſſions, or miſtakes, of lighter moment, may more readily obtain excuſe.

I ſhall only add, that when I firſt engaged in this work many years ago, my intention was, to have joined with the tranſlation ſuch obſervations and remarks, as might have ſerved not only to explain the difficulties, but to illuſtrate alſo and enforce the ſtrong ſenſe and wiſe reflections, that are ſpread through all the following Hiſtory: to have cleared the obſcurity, which ariſes oftentimes from remote alluſions, or an imperfect detail of facts: to have opened thoſe peculiarities of cuſtoms and of manners, which, whenever they occur, raiſe doubt and heſitation in the unlearned reader: to have pointed out the uſes, or defects, of various inſtitutions, in religion, laws, and government: and above all the reſt, to have traced, ſtep by ſtep, the advancement of the Roman greatneſs; to have called back alſo to the ſcene the illuſtrious times of Greece, and compared the glory of that country with it's laſt decline; and in a word, to have diſplayed in one entire and connected view, the whole conduct, and the various fortunes, of thoſe great nations, whoſe Sages, and whoſe Heroes, ſeemed to have ſoared above the ordinary limits of humanity; and whoſe ſtory, while it inſtructs and warms, ſhould teach us alſo to ſpurn away thoſe narrow politicks, and that baſe depravity, which have fixed ſhackles upon our own contracted wiſdom, and feeble virtue. Such was my deſign; the firſt draught of which was nearly finiſhed, and materials collected in large abundance for the whole. But various accidents from time to time obſtructed the progreſs of it: and I have now neither leiſure, nor inclination, to complete it. Yet as I had gone through the moſt difficult and irkſome, as well as the moſt uſeful part likewiſe of the whole performance, I was not willing entirely to ſuppreſs it. For I flatter myſelf, that the publick will owe me ſome acknowledgement, if this Tranſlation

ſhould

ſhould prove the means of ſpreading into many hands a treaſure of ineſtimable value, which the roughneſs and inelegance, and numerous difficulties that occur, both in the language, and conſtruction, and ſenſe of the Original, have hitherto confined to a few. If this indeed ſhould be the event, I neither ſhall regret the labour which the one part of the work has coſt me, nor grieve for the diſappointment in the other: but ſhall think my pains well rewarded, in having thus been able to bring into the open light a merit which had long languiſhed in obſcurity; and to ſubſtitute, in the place perhaps of ſtudies either trifling or pernicious, the knowledge of an Author, whoſe writings, though broken and imperfect, not only contain the fulleſt leſſons of civil prudence, but alſo every where abound with ſtrong incitements to the practice of all thoſe ſocial virtues, which endear men to themſelves, and render them uſeful citizens to their country.

The

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF POLYBIUS.

BOOK the First. CHAP. I.

IF thoſe who have been employed before me, in relating the tranſactions of former times, had been altogether ſilent concerning the uſe and excellence of Hiſtory, it might perhaps be neceſſary to begin this Work, with adviſing all mankind to apply themſelves with earneſtneſs to that kind of Study; ſince the knowledge of paſt events affords the beſt inſtructions for the regulation and good conduct of human life. But as the greater part, or rather all of them, have taken every occaſion to declare, repeating it as we may ſay from one end of their writings to the other, that Hiſtory ſupplies the only proper diſcipline, to train and exerciſe the minds of thoſe who are inclined to enter into publick affairs; and that the evil accidents, which are there recorded to have befallen other men, contain the wiſeſt and the moſt effectual leſſons, for enabling us to ſupport our own misfortunes with dignity and

courage; there is ſurely little need to repeat again, what others have ſo often urged with eloquence and force. But indeed the Subject itſelf, which I am engaged to treat, may well exempt me from this taſk; ſince it is of a kind ſo new and ſingular, that it cannot fail to excite the attention of every reader. For what man is there ſo ſordid and inſenſible, that he would not wiſh to be informed, in what manner, and through what kind of government, almoſt the whole habitable world, in leſs than the courſe of fifty-three years, was reduced beneath the Roman yoke: an event, of which there is no example in any former time. Or who on the other hand is ſo paſſionately fond of any other kind of ſpeculation, or of any branch of ſcience, as to think it more worthy of his care and pains, than this inquiry.

That the Subject of this work deſerves more than a common ſhare of attention and regard, on account both of it's novelty and greatneſs, will moſt evidently appear, if we take a view of all the ancient ſtates that are chiefly celebrated in hiſtory, and compare them with the Roman.

The Perſians were for ſome time poſſeſſed of a very wide dominion: but whenever they laboured to extend it beyond the bounds of Aſia, the attempt was always unſucceſsful, and once indeed proved almoſt fatal to them. The Lacedæmonians, after many ſtruggles, obtained the ſovereignty of Greece; but within twelve years, were again diveſted of it. The Macedonian kingdom was at firſt extended from the provinces that border on the Adriatic coaſt, as far as to the Danube; the whole including but a ſmall and inconſiderable part of Europe. After ſome time indeed, they found means to break the Perſian monarchy, and joined Aſia to their empire. But though the general opinion of mankind may perhaps have taught us always to regard this people as a very flouriſhing and potent State, it cannot be denied, that a great part of the world was totally exempted from their ſway. Afric, Sicily, and Sardi-

nia,

nia, were never viſited by their arms. And thoſe fierce and warlike nations, who poſſeſſed the weſtern parts of Europe, were utterly unknown and undiſcovered by them. But the Romans, diſdaining to confine their conqueſts within the limits of a few countries only, have forced almoſt the whole habitable world to pay ſubmiſſion to their laws: and have raiſed their Empire to that vaſt height of power, which is ſo much the wonder of the preſent age, and which no future times can ever hope to exceed. And this is the Event, which I deſign to explain in all it's parts and circumſtances in the following narration: and from thence it will be evident, what great advantages may be derived from an attentive and cloſe peruſal of Political Hiſtory.

The point of Time, from whence I begin my Work, is the hundred-fortieth Olympiad. The tranſactions, are theſe which follow. In Greece, the Social war, conducted by Philip, the Son of Demetrius and Father of Perſeus, in conjunction with the cities of Achaia, againſt the Ætolians. In Aſia, the War between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator, for the ſovereignty of Cœle-ſyria. In Italy and Afric, that between the Carthaginians and the Romans, which is moſt frequently ſtiled the War of Annibal. Theſe events are the next in order to thoſe with which the Hiſtory of Aratus is concluded.

Now before this Period, the great tranſactions of the world were ſingle, diſtinct, and unconnected, both in place and time; while each proceeded from motives peculiar to itſelf, and was directed to it's own proper end. But from this time Hiſtory aſſumes an intire and perfect body. The affairs of Italy and Afric were now conjoined with thoſe of Aſia and of Greece: and all moved together towards one fixed and ſingle point. And this it was that firſt determined me to chooſe this æra for the beginning of my Work. For it was not till after they had broken the ſtrength of Carthage in the

war juſt mentioned, that the Romans, imagining that by this ſucceſs they had accompliſhed the chief and moſt important part of their intended enterprize, and opened to themſelves the way to univerſal empire, now firſt reſolved to enlarge their conqueſts, and ſpread their armies over Greece and Aſia.

If mankind were already ſufficiently acquainted with the condition and paſt fortunes of theſe Republicks, which contended thus together for the ſovereignty of the world, there would perhaps be no occaſion to have recourſe to the former parts of their ſtory, in order to explain the ſtrength and number of their forces, or the probable hopes of ſucceſs, by which they ſeverally were excited to ſo great and difficult an undertaking. But becauſe the Greeks are for the moſt part ſtrangers to the ancient ſtate, power, and exploits both of the Carthaginians and the Romans, I thought it neceſſary to prefix this Book, and that which follows, to the body of my Hiſtory: to remove all doubts that might occur; and to exhibit clearly to the reader's view the counſels, ſtrength, reſources, upon which the Romans ſupported thoſe great deſigns, which rendered them the maſters of the world both by land and ſea. For from the recital which I deſign to make in theſe preliminary Books, it will be ſeen beyond all doubt, that this vaſt project was neither formed, nor carried into execution, but upon reaſons the moſt fair and ſolid, and which gave ſtrong aſſurances of ſucceſs.

The circumſtances of this great event, which ſo juſtly raiſe the admiration of the preſent age, will alſo afford one very eminent advantage to my Work, which will diſtinguiſh it from every other Hiſtory. For as all the great tranſactions of the world were now forcibly attracted to one ſide, and compelled to move in one direction towards the ſame ſingle end, I ſhall from thence be able to connect together, and diſpoſe into one perfect body, the ſeries of different events, and to exhibit in one point of view, the whole variety of action. It was this indeed,

indeed, which gave me the firſt inclination to write the hiſtory of theſe times. Another motive was, that no one has hitherto compoſed a General Hiſtory. For if this taſk had ever been before attempted, I ſhould myſelf have been leſs ſollicitous to engage in ſuch an undertaking. There are many indeed who have written an account of particular wars: and among them, ſome perhaps have added a few coincident events. But no man, as far at leaſt as I can learn, has ever yet employed his pains, in collecting all the great tranſactions of the world into one regular and conſiſtent body; remarking alſo the time of their commencement, the motives to which they owed their birth, and the end to which they were directed. I therefore judged it to be a taſk that might prove highly uſeful to the world, to reſcue from oblivion this great and moſt inſtructive act of Fortune. For in all the vaſt variety of diſorders, ſtruggles, changes, which the power of this deity introduces into human life, we ſhall find none equal to that long and deſperate ſcene of contention, none worthy to be compared for their importance with thoſe events which have happened in the preſent age. But this is what the writers of particular hiſtories can never ſet before us in it's full and proper light. It might with equal reaſon be ſuppoſed, that by ſingly viſiting all the noted cities of the world, or from a view of each delineated on paper, we ſhould be able to acquire a right notion of the figure of the earth, with the due order and arrangement of all it's parts. But ſurely this muſt be thought a moſt abſurd conceit. In a word, whoever is perſuaded that the ſtudy of particular hiſtories is alone ſufficient to convey a perfect view and knowledge of the whole, may very properly be compared with one, who, on ſurveying the divided members of a body that was once endued with life and beauty, ſhould perſuade himſelf that he had from thence obtained a juſt conception of all the comelineſs and active vigour which it had received from nature. But let theſe broken parts be again placed in order,

order, reſtored to all their firſt activity and life, and be once more offered to his view; he will then be ready to acknowledge, that all his former notions were as remote from truth, as the ſhadows of a dream are different from realities. For though ſome faint conception of the whole may perhaps ariſe from a careful examination of the parts, no diſtinct or perfect knowledge can ever be expected from it. In the ſame manner it muſt alſo be confeſſed, that particular Relations are by no means capable of yielding any clear or extenſive view into General Hiſtory: and that the only method, which can render this kind of ſtudy both entertaining and inſtructive, is that which draws together all the ſeveral events, and ranges them in their due place and order, diſtinguiſhing alſo their connection and their difference.

I ſhall begin this Book with the firſt expedition of the Romans out of Italy; which is the next in order to thoſe events, with which the hiſtory of Timæus is concluded, and which happened in the hundred-twenty-ninth Olympiad. I muſt, therefore, relate, at what time, in what manner, and on what occaſion, this people, after they had firmly ſettled and ſecured their government at home, reſolved to paſs over into Sicily: for that was the firſt country, beyond the bounds of Italy, into which they ſent their armies. I ſhall mention, in the plaineſt and moſt ſimple manner, what it was that gave riſe to this invaſion: that the reader may not be forced to perplex his mind, with ſearching after the cauſes of that which was itſelf the genuine and immediate cauſe, and the very entrance to the work be from thence involved in inſuperable darkneſs and uncertainty. And ſince it will be neceſſary to give an abſtract alſo even of ſome events that paſſed before this period, I ſhall take care to chooſe ſome known and undiſputed æra; and to begin from facts, which are clear, preciſe, and well eſtabliſhed. For when the beginning of a hiſtory is involved in any kind of intricacy or obſcurity, the

parts which follow can never obtain any great degree of credit or regard. But, on the other hand, when the introduction to the ſubject is made intelligible and clear to all, the ſubſequent narration will eaſily gain admiſſion and belief.

IN the year then, which was the nineteenth after the engagement near Ægoſpotamus, and the ſixteenth before the battle of Leuctra; the year, when the Lacedæmonians confirmed the treaty which Antalcidas had made with the Perſians; and the elder Dionyſius, having ſome time before defeated the Greeks of Italy near the river Helleporus, laid ſiege to Rhegium; in this ſame year, the Gauls took Rome by ſtorm, and remained maſters of all the city, the capitol alone excepted. But the Romans, having yielded to ſuch conditions as the conquerors thought proper to impoſe, were once more reſtored, beyond all hope, to the poſſeſſion of their country. From this time, being, as it were, again renewed in ſtrength and vigour, they made war upon the ſtates that were contiguous to their own. And having, partly by their bravery, and partly with the aid of fortune, reduced all the Latins to their yoke, they next attacked the Tyrrhenians; after theſe the Gauls; and then the Samnites; whoſe country lay contiguous to the territory of the Latins, and bounded it towards the north and eaſt. Some time afterwards the people of Tarentum, having treated an embaſſy from Rome with great indignity and inſult, and being apprehenſive that the Romans were preparing vengeance for the affront, invited Pyrrhus into Italy. This happened the year before the Gauls invaded Greece, and received that ſignal overthrow at Delphi, which drove them with the remains of their army into Aſia. But the Romans, who had already reduced the Tyrrhenians and the Samnites to their yoke, and had returned with conqueſt from many engagements alſo with the Gauls, were now beginning to enlarge their views; and reſolved to ſeize upon the

the reſt of Italy, as if the whole country had belonged to them by a natural and proper right. Their former combats had completely trained and exerciſed them in the uſe of arms. They attacked the Tarentines with vigour; and perſiſted in the war with ſo much firmneſs, that they at laſt drove Pyrrhus out of Italy; and then turned their arms againſt the cities, which had been confederated with that Prince againſt them. And having, by a courſe of wonderful ſucceſs, forced all the inhabitants of Italy, except the Gauls, to receive their laws, they were now at leiſure to march againſt a body of Roman ſoldiers, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Rhegium.

The two cities Meſſana and Rhegium, both ſituated upon the ſame ſtraits, had both experienced the ſame misfortune. Not long before this time, a body of Campanian mercenaries, who had ſerved in the armies of Agathocles, invited by the beauty and rich condition of Meſſana, watched their time for gaining poſſeſſion of the place by treachery. They ſoon found means to be received as friends within the city; where they killed one part of the inhabitants, and drove the reſt without the walls. And having taken to themſelves the wives and children of thoſe unhappy men, as they fell into the hands of every one at the very time of the diſorder, they made afterwards a diviſion of their lands and riches: and thus, with little difficulty, gained full poſſeſſion of a very ſplendid city, and fertile territory. This ſucceſs ſoon excited others to follow the example. The inhabitants of Rhegium, alarmed by the entrance of Pyrrhus into Italy, and being alſo under no ſmall apprehenſions of ſome danger from the Carthaginians, who were at that time the ſole maſters of the ſea, implored the aſſiſtance of the Romans; who ſent them a garriſon of four thouſand men under the command of Decius Campanus. Theſe for ſome time remained firm in their duty, and guarded the liberties of the city. But being at laſt ſeduced by the commodious ſituation of the place, and by the wealth and flouriſhing

flouriſhing condition of the citizens, they reſolved to imitate the example which the Campanians had ſo lately ſet before them: and being aſſiſted alſo by them in the execution of their deſign, they drove out or killed the inhabitants, and obtained entire poſſeſſion of the city.

This horrid act of treachery raiſed great indignation in the Romans: but the wars in which they were then involved reſtrained their vengeance. As ſoon as theſe were ended, they marched and laid ſiege to Rhegium. The place ſoon fell into their hands; but the greateſt part of the garriſon was deſtroyed in the aſſault: for they fought like men who well foreſaw the conſequences of their crime. About three hundred only that were taken alive were ſent to Rome; and being conducted by the Prætors into the Forum, were firſt ſcourged, and then beheaded. By this juſt ſeverity, the Romans hoped that they ſhould again recover their character of good faith among their allies. They reſtored the city alſo, with all the lands, to the former inhabitants.

The Mamertines of Meſſana, for this was the name which the Campanian mercenaries had aſſumed, as long as they were ſupported by the Romans who had poſſeſſed themſelves of Rhegium, not only remained in quiet and ſecure enjoyment of their own city and proper territory, but made frequent incurſions alſo into the adjacent countries: creating no ſmall terror and diſturbance, both to the Carthaginians and the Syracuſans; and exacting contributions from many parts of Sicily. But no ſooner had the ſiege of Rhegium deprived them of the aſſiſtance of theſe allies, than they were themſelves ſo vigorouſly preſſed by the Syracuſan forces, that they were conſtrained to abandon all the open country, and to keep cloſe behind their walls. The occaſion was this that follows:

A little before this time, when ſome diſſenſion had been raiſed between the citizens of Syracuſe and the army, the troops, while they lay incamped in the neighbourhood of

Mergana, elected two magiſtrates out of their own body; Artemidorus, and Hiero who was afterwards King. Hiero was then extremely young: but he ſeemed to have been ſingularly formed by nature to ſuſtain the Regal dignity. As ſoon as he was inveſted with this new authority, he found ſome means, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, to gain admiſſion into the city. And having there drawn all the chiefs of the oppoſite faction into his power, he ſhewed in his whole deportment ſuch proofs of clemency and true greatneſs, that the people, though they were by no means ſatisfied with the liberty which the army had aſſumed, with one voice declared him Prætor. But it was eaſy to diſcern from his firſt behaviour in this office, that he had ſome more exalted poſt in view. For having remarked, that as often as the forces, with the Magiſtrates at their head, were obliged to take the field, ſome new commotions and diſorders were always raiſed among the citizens, and obſerving alſo, that a certain Syracuſan, named Leptines, was the firſt in favour with the people, and far ſuperior in his influence and credit to all the reſt of the inhabitants, he reſolved to contract a cloſe alliance with him, and to marry his daughter; being perſuaded, that by the help of his authority, he ſhould be able to keep all things quiet and ſecure at home, whenever himſelf ſhould be engaged in the command of the army abroad. Some time afterwards, obſerving that the mercenaries, who had been long employed in the Syracuſan armies, were become untractable and mutinous, he ordered all the forces to take the field, and to march againſt the barbarians of Meſſana. Being incamped within ſight of the enemy near Centuripe, he drew up his army in order of battle along the ſide of the Cyamoſorus. But having ſtationed the Syracuſan troops, both infantry and cavalry, at a diſtance from the reſt, as if he had intended an attack from a different quarter, he oppoſed the mercenaries only to the enemy, by whom they were entirely defeated and deſtroyed.

ſtroyed. But as ſoon as the ſlaughter was begun, himſelf with all the forces of the city returned back again to Syracuſe. Having thus happily accompliſhed his deſign, and cleared the army of its ſeditious members, and having filled their place with a ſufficient number of new mercenaries levied by himſelf, from that time he continued to diſcharge the duties of his poſt, without any tumult or diſorder. And when the Mamertines, elated by their paſt ſucceſs, had ſpread themſelves over all the country without any fear or caution, he led againſt them the forces of the city, which were now completely armed and diſciplined, and came to an engagement with them upon the banks of the river Longanus, in the plain of Mylæ. And having obtained an entire victory, in which their Generals alſo were taken priſoners, he gave an effectual check to the Inſolence of thoſe barbarians, and on his return to Syracuſe was ſaluted King by the army.

The Mamertines, who had been before deprived of the aſſiſtance which they had been accuſtomed to receive from Rhegium, were now ſo broken and diſheartened by this laſt defeat, that they conſidered their affairs as almoſt deſperate. In this ſtate, ſome among them had recourſe to the Carthaginians, and delivered the citadel into their hands: while the reſt ſent ambaſſadors to Rome, to make an offer of their city, and to implore the protection of the Romans, for a people ſprung, as they pretended, from one common ſtock with themſelves. The Romans were for ſome time under great perplexity and doubt. To comply with this demand, appeared to be in a high degree improper and abſurd. They had lately puniſhed with the laſt ſeverity a body of their own citizens, for having betrayed the publick faith in ſeizing Rhegium: and if now they ſhould ſupport the Mamertines, who not only had ſurprized Meſſana by the very ſame kind of perfidy, but had aſſiſted in taking Rhegium alſo, it would be difficult to find any fair apology for ſuch a conduct. On the

other hand, as the Carthaginians, beſides the dominions which they poſſeſſed in Afric, were maſters alſo of many parts of Spain, and of all the iſlands in the Sardinian and Tyrrhenian ſeas, it was greatly to be feared, that, if Sicily ſhould now fall into their hands, they would ſoon become too formidable neighbours, ſince they would then lie cloſe to every part of Italy, and incircle them on every ſide. It was eaſy alſo to diſcern, that they muſt very ſoon be able to reduce this iſland, if the Mamertines were not now ſupported. For if once they were permitted to poſſeſs Meſſana, they would find it no hard taſk to conquer Syracuſe, ſince they were already maſters of almoſt all the other parts of Sicily. The Romans ſaw the danger, and conſidered it as a matter of the laſt neceſſity to obviate and prevent theſe conſequences; and not ſuffer Meſſana to fall into the hands of thoſe who might from thence be able to lay as it were a bridge for paſſing into Italy. Yet after many long debates upon the ſubject, the Senate even at laſt refuſed to paſs any decree concerning it: becauſe the manifeſt abſurdity on one ſide ſeemed ſtill to draw with equal weight againſt the advantage on the other. But the People, who had been much exhauſted by their former wars, and wiſhed for ſome occaſion to repair their ſhattered fortunes, being incited partly by the great utility which would confeſſedly accrue to the Republick from the war, and animated alſo by the ſhew of thoſe advantages with which the Prætors in their ſpeeches flattered every private man, reſolved that the deſired aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent, and made a law for that purpoſe, commanding Appius Claudius, one of the Conſuls, to paſs over to Meſſana. The Mamertines, partly by the means of fraud, and partly by open force, drove out the Carthaginian commander from the citadel, and delivered the city to the Romans.

The Carthaginians, when they had firſt crucified their General, for his cowardice and ill conduct in relinquiſhing the

citadel, made haſte to draw together all their forces, to retake Meſſana. And having ſtationed their fleet near Pelorus, and poſted their land army on the ſide of Senæ, they began to preſs the ſiege with vigour. At the ſame time, Hiero, imagining that this occaſion might be favourable for driving the Mamertines entirely out of Sicily, entered into treaty with the Carthaginians: and beginning his march from Syracuſe, he came and inveſted the city on the other ſide, having encamped near the mountain called Chalcidicus.

The Conſul Appius paſſed the Straits in an adventurous manner by night, and was received into Meſſana. But finding that the place was cloſely preſſed on every ſide, and reflecting with himſelf that the affair was full of hazard, and that little reputation was likely to be gained from a war in which the enemy were ſo much ſuperior both by land and ſea, he ſent offers of accommodation to both camps; deſiring only that the Mamertines might remain unmoleſted. But as this propoſal was rejected, he was forced to venture on a battle; and reſolved to make his firſt attack upon the Syracuſans. He accordingly drew his forces out of the city, and offered battle to Hiero, who readily accepted it. The fight was long and obſtinate; but at laſt the Romans obtained the victory, and drove back the enemy to their camp: and having ſpoiled the dead, they returned again to Meſſana.

But Hiero, beginning now to apprehend ſome worſe event, as ſoon as night came on, returned back again with his army in all haſte to Syracuſe. When Appius, on the following day, was informed of this retreat, he immediately conceived new hopes, and reſolved to attack the Carthaginians without delay. He gave orders therefore to the troops to take their repaſt betimes; and marching out of the city at break of day, he charged the enemy, killed great numbers of them, and forced the reſt to fly to the neighbouring cities. After theſe ſignal victories, the ſiege being raiſed, and no forces appearing

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in the field, the Romans waſted at their leiſure the country of the Syracuſans and their allies; and at laſt advanced to Syracuſe itſelf, in order to beſiege it.

Such were the cauſes, and ſuch the time and manner, of the firſt expedition of the Romans out of Italy; and here I fix the beginning of my work: having firſt run through the times which juſt before preceded it, in order more clearly to explain the genuine and real grounds of this tranſaction. For that the reader might be able to obtain a juſt and perfect knowledge of the cauſes of the preſent power and greatneſs of the Romans, it was proper previouſly to acquaint him both with the time and manner, in which this people firſt recovered into better hopes, after they had beheld their country loſt: and by what means afterwards, when they had vanquiſhed all the neighbouring States, they found occaſion to extend their conqueſts beyond the bounds of Italy. Nor let it be thought in any manner ſtrange, if in the ſubſequent parts of this Hiſtory, when I am ſpeaking of the States that are chiefly celebrated in the world, I ſhould look back to ages that are more remote. For this I ſhall do, merely for the ſake of beginning from ſuch facts as will beſt enable us to diſcern, from what cauſes, and in what time and manner, they ſeverally grew to that condition, in which they are ſeen to flouriſh in the preſent times. But I now muſt haſten to the taſk that is before me; mentioning firſt, in few words, the events which are deſigned to be the ſubject of theſe preliminary Books.

The firſt then is the war in Sicily between the Carthaginians and the Romans; and after it the African war. Next will follow a recital of the actions of Amilcar and of Aſdrubal in Spain: with the invaſion alſo of Illyria by the Romans, who then for the firſt time ſent their armies into thoſe parts of Europe. After theſe tranſactions come the battles, which the Romans were forced to ſuſtain in Italy againſt the

Gauls: about which time it was, that the war of Cleomenes broke out in Greece; with an account of which I ſhall conclude the ſecond Book, and cloſe the introduction to my Hiſtory.

To enter into a minute detail of all the parts and circumſtances of theſe wars, would be a labour quite unneceſſary to myſelf, and attended with no great advantage to the reader. For it is not my deſign to write the hiſtory, but rather to give a general and ſummary account of theſe tranſactions, ſuch as may ſerve for an introduction to my Hiſtory: and by making a ſhort recital of the chief events, in the order in which they were tranſacted, and carrying on the narration in one regular and connected ſeries to the time from whence my own Work commences, to prepare the reader for the accounts that follow, and make the whole both eaſy and intelligible. I deſign however to be ſomewhat more particular and copious in deſcribing the war in Sicily between the Carthaginians and the Romans. For it is not eaſy to find in hiſtory any one more conſiderable, either with reſpect to the time of its duration, the diligence and forces by which it was ſuſtained, the conſtant and uninterrupted courſe of important actions that happened in it, or the great and ſudden turns of fortune that attended it. And becauſe the publick manners and civil inſtitutions both of Rome and Carthage were as yet pure and unimpaired; as their wealth was moderate; their ſtrength nearly equal; it will be more eaſy to form a perfect judgment from this war, of the powers peculiar to the conſtitution of each Republick, than from thoſe that followed.

Another motive, which inclined me not leſs ſtrongly to give a more minute deſcription of the Sicilian war, was becauſe Fabius and Philinus, who are eſteemed the moſt ſkilful writers on this ſubject, have by no means ſhewn a due exactneſs or fidelity in their relations. I cannot indeed perſuade myſelf, that they would knowingly deviate from the truth. The characters

racters of the men, and the whole tenor of their lives, exclude all ſuch ſuſpicion. But as it happens in the caſe of Lovers, a certain ſecret affection and partiality towards their friends and countrymen ſeem to have fixed inſenſibly ſome prejudices upon them. To theſe it muſt be imputed, that Philinus in every part of his Hiſtory ſo highly praiſes the virtue, courage, and wiſdom of the Carthaginians; allowing none of all theſe qualities to the Romans: while Fabius on the other hand takes all occaſions to depreciate the Carthaginians, and extol the Romans. Now ſuch a diſpoſition, when it is ſhewn in other circumſtances, is truly commendable. It is in part the character of a good man, to love his country and his friends, and to hate the enemies of both. But an Hiſtorian muſt diveſt himſelf of theſe affections: and be ready, on many occaſions to ſpeak largely in the praiſes even of an enemy, when his conduct deſerves applauſe; nor ſcruple to condemn his moſt eſteemed and deareſt friends, as often as their actions call for cenſure.

Truth is the eye of Hiſtory. For as an Animal, when deprived of ſight, becomes incapable of performing its natural and proper functions, ſo if we take away truth from Hiſtory, what remains will be nothing but an uſeleſs Tale.

Now, if we pay a proper regard to truth, we ſhall find it neceſſary not only to condemn our friends on ſome occaſions, and commend our enemies; but alſo to commend and condemn the ſame perſons, as different circumſtances may require. For as it is not to be imagined, that thoſe who are engaged in great affairs, ſhould always be purſuing falſe or miſtaken meaſures; ſo neither is it probable, that their conduct can at all times be exempt from error. An Hiſtorian therefore, in all that he relates, ſhould take care to be directed in his judgment by the genuine and real circumſtances of every action, without regarding the actors of it. The following examples may ſerve to ſhew the truth of theſe remarks.

Philinus,

Philinus, in the beginning of his ſecond Book, gives this account of the affairs of Sicily. "That Meſſana was inveſted by the Carthaginians and Syracuſans: that the Romans had no ſooner paſſed the Straits, and gained admiſſion into the city, than they ſallied out and attacked the Syracuſans, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs: that they next made a like attempt upon the Carthaginians; in which engagement they not only were defeated, but loſt alſo many of their men, who fell alive into the hands of the enemy." He then adds; "that immediately after this action, Hiero was ſo ſtruck with terror, that he not only ſet fire to his camp, and fled away by night to Syracuſe, but abandoned all the fortreſſes in the diſtrict of Meſſana: that the Carthaginians in the ſame manner deſerted their intrenchments, and retired to their cities, not daring to oppoſe the Romans in the field: that the Generals, obſerving that their troops were quite diſheartened, were afraid to venture on a ſecond battle: that the Romans purſued cloſely after them in their retreat; and having plundered and deſtroyed the country, advanced even to Syracuſe, in order to beſiege it."

A relation ſo abſurd muſt needs confute itſelf. The armies which, as this Hiſtorian writes, were laying ſiege to Meſſana, and which had gained the victory in two engagements, on a ſudden become diſpirited and heartleſs, abandon all the open country, and are themſelves beſieged: while the Romans, beſieged and twice defeated, are yet deſcribed as purſuing the flying enemy, in poſſeſſion of the open country, and at laſt laying ſiege to Syracuſe. Facts ſo oppoſite can never be reconciled together. It is evident, that either the firſt, or the ſubſequent part of this narration muſt be falſe. But the latter is undoubtedly true: for the Romans actually laid ſiege to Syracuſe, as this writer himſelf admits; and afterwards to Echetla, a city ſtanding on the frontier between the Carthaginian and the Syracuſan territories. It follows therefore,

that the facts are falſe which are firſt affirmed: and that the Romans were victorious in the two engagements, in which they are repreſented by this Hiſtorian to have been defeated. Such then is the character of Philinus. For the ſame miſtakes are to be found in almoſt every part of his performance. Nor is the Hiſtory of Fabius in this reſpect more accurate; as I ſhall hereafter take occaſion to demonſtrate. But I now return from this digreſſion; and ſhall endeavour, by a regular, though ſhort deduction of the chief events, to ſet before the reader a clear and juſt deſcription of the war.

CHAP. II.

AS ſoon as the news of theſe victories which had been gained by Appius, were received at Rome, the Romans choſe for Conſuls M. Octacilius, and M. Valerius, and ſent them both into Sicily, with all the forces. The Armies of this Republick, beſides the troops which are raiſed among the Allies, are compoſed of four Legions. Theſe are levied every year; and each of them conſiſts of four thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe. At their firſt arrival, many cities, both of the Carthaginians and the Syracuſans, immediately ſubmitted to them. When Hiero ſaw, that a general dread and conſternation had ſpread through all the iſland, and conſidered likewiſe the numbers and the ſtrength of the legionary forces, he began to think, that the iſſue of the war would neceſſarily be determined by theſe circumſtances in favour of the Romans: He ſent ambaſſadors therefore to the Conſuls, with propoſals for a treaty. The offer was embraced with pleaſure by the Romans: chiefly for the ſake of ſecuring proviſions to their army. For as the Carthaginians were maſters of the ſea, it was greatly to be feared, that their ſupplies would all be intercepted. And indeed the forces of the former year had been reduced to great extre-

mity, through the want of neceſſaries. Perceiving therefore that the friendſhip of this Prince might prove highly ſerviceable to them in this reſpect, they accepted it with joy; and agreed to a Treaty with him upon theſe conditions, "That he ſhould pay a hundred Talents of ſilver, and reſtore without ranſom all the Roman priſoners." Thus the alliance was concluded: and from this time Hiero, ſheltered under the protection of the Romans, whom he ſupplied from time to time as their neceſſities required, poſſeſſed his kingdom in ſecurity; purſuing always the right paths of glory, and employing all his pains to gain the applauſe and favour of his ſubjects. And indeed ſo wiſe and prudent was his conduct, both in the general tenor of his policy, and in every ſingle act of government, that he reaped from it the moſt laſting fruits; and enjoyed a fame, to which few Princes have been ever able to aſpire.

As ſoon as the Treaty was confirmed at Rome in an aſſembly of the People, it was reſolved, for the time to come, to ſend two legions only into Sicily. For as by this alliance the burthen of the war was become much lighter to them than before, ſo they conſidered likewiſe, that a ſmaller army might more eaſily be ſupplied with neceſſaries. But when the Carthaginians ſaw that Hiero was become their enemy, and that the Romans were preparing to purſue the war with all imaginable vigour, they ſoon were ſenſible, that it neither would be poſſible for them to oppoſe the enemy in the field, nor even to retain what they then poſſeſſed in Sicily, without a more conſiderable force. They therefore made great levies in Liguria, and among the Gauls, and greater ſtill in Spain; and embarked them all for Sicily. And becauſe Agrigentum was the ſtrongeſt of all the places in the iſland that were ſubject to their power, and the moſt commodious alſo for the occaſions of the war, they reſolved to make that city their

place of arms, and removed into it their ſtores and all the forces.

The Conſuls, who had made the alliance with the King of Syracuſe, were now returned to Rome; and L. Poſtumius and Q. Mamilius, who ſucceeded them in office and command, arrived in Sicily with the legions. As ſoon as they had ſeen the deſigns and preparations of the enemy, they reſolved to act more vigorouſly than before. Neglecting therefore all the other buſineſs of the war, they marched directly to Agrigentum with all their forces; and encamping at the diſtance of eight ſtadia from the city, ſhut up the Carthaginians within their walls. It was now the time of harveſt: and as the ſiege was likely to be of long continuance, the Roman ſoldiers were eagerly employed in getting in the corn, and had ſpread themſelves over all the country, without care or caution. The Carthaginians ſeeing this diſorder, ſallied out upon the foragers, and routed them with little difficulty. They then ran towards the camp to plunder it, and with great fury attacked the troops that were left to guard the intrenchments. But the excellence of the Roman diſcipline, upon this occaſion, as on many others, proved the cauſe of their ſafety. For the ſoldiers, remembering that thoſe who yielded their place in battle, or fled baſely from their poſt, were always puniſhed with death, not only ſuſtained the charge againſt an enemy that far exceeded them in numbers, but alſo preſſed their adverſaries with ſo much force and vigour, that though they loſt many of their men, they deſtroyed a great number of the Carthaginians: and having at laſt ſurrounded them on every ſide, when they were juſt now ready to tear away the paliſade of the intrenchments, they drove them back with conſiderable loſs, and purſued them even to the city. After this action, the Carthaginians were leſs frequent in their ſallies; and the Romans uſed more precaution, when they went abroad to forage.

As

As the enemy never appeared without the walls, unleſs to engage in ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes, the Conſuls having divided their army into two bodies, poſted one of them near the temple of Æſculapius, and the other on the ſide which looked towards Heraclea, and fortified with works on both ſides of the city, the ſpace that lay between the camps. They drew a line round the city, to obſtruct the ſallies of the beſieged; and another on the ſide towards the country, to repel all approaches from that quarter, and to intercept all ſuccours. The ſpace between the lines and the camps was ſecured by advanced bodies of troops, and by works thrown up at proper diſtances, as the nature of the ground required. The allies had brought together to Erbeſſus proviſions and every kind of ſtores. And as this city ſtood at no great diſtance from the Roman camps, their convoys went and returned continually, and ſupplied them with all things in great abundance.

In this condition things remained for near five months: in which time many ſlight engagements happened, but no deciſive action. But the beſieged were now greatly preſſed by famine: for the numbers that were within the walls were not fewer than fifty thouſand men. Annibal therefore, who commanded in the city, finding that all things tended to the laſt extremity, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to Carthage, to ſolicit ſome relief. The Carthaginians embarked ſome troops and elephants, and ſent them into Sicily, to Hanno their other General. Hanno ordered all theſe forces to be drawn together to Heraclea: and having made himſelf maſter of Erbeſſus by ſome ſecret practices among the citizens, he cut off all ſupplies from the Roman camp, and conſtrained them in their turn to feel the miſeries of the beſieged. Indeed ſo great was the extremity to which they were reduced, that they often were inclined to raiſe the ſiege: which at laſt they muſt have been compelled to do, if Hiero had not practiſed every method of addreſs and diligence, to furniſh them from time

time to time, in moderate quantity, with ſuch ſupplies as were chiefly wanted.

But when Hanno ſaw that the Roman army was diſheartened and diſtreſſed by ſickneſs as well as famine, while, on the other hand, his own troops were freſh and fit for action; taking with him the elephants, which were about fifty in number, and the reſt alſo of his forces, he marched in haſte from Heraclea, having ſent away the Numidian horſe before, with orders that they ſhould approach the Roman camp, provoke their cavalry to action, and immediately retire back again towards the main army. Theſe troops accordingly advanced: and no ſooner had they reached the neareſt camp, than the Roman cavalry came pouring out againſt them, and began the attack with fury. But the Numidians obſerved their orders, and maintained a flying fight, till they were joined by Hanno with the other forces: and then ſuddenly facing round, they fell with vigour upon the enemy, killed great numbers of them, and purſued the reſt even cloſe to their intrenchments. After this action Hanno fixed his camp upon a hill called Torus, at the diſtance of ten ſtadia from the Romans.

In this ſituation they both remained during two whole months. Many ſlight engagements happened every day between them; but no action, that was general or deciſive. But as Annibal now made continual ſignals by fires from the City, and ſent meſſengers from day to day to Hanno, to acquaint him, that the multitude were no longer able to ſupport the miſeries of the famine, and that great numbers had deſerted to the enemy, this General reſolved at laſt to venture on a battle. The Romans on their part alſo, for the reaſons which have been already mentioned, ſhewed an equal eagerneſs to engage. They drew out their forces on either ſide, and ranged them in order upon the ground that lay between the camps. The fight was long and obſtinate: but after

after ſome time, the Carthaginian mercenaries who compoſed the firſt line gave ground, and falling back upon the elephants and the ranks that were behind them, threw the whole army into ſuch diſorder, that a general rout enſued. The greateſt part of the troops were deſtroyed in the place: a ſmall number only eſcaped to Heraclea. The baggage, and almoſt all the elephants were taken. When night came on, the Romans, partly from the joy which their victory inſpired, and partly through the fatigue which they had ſuffered in the action, neglected to guard their camp with the uſual care. Annibal, whoſe affairs were deſperate, conſidered this as the very moment of his ſafety. About midnight, therefore, he began his march out of the city with all the foreign troops, filled up the lines with ſacks of matting that were ſtuffed with chaff, and paſſed undiſcovered by the enemy. In the morning, the Romans perceiving what had happened, gave ſome little diſturbance to the rear; but ſoon returned, and marched directly to the gates of Agrigentum: and finding no reſiſtance, they entered the city and plundered it, and brought away many priſoners, with rich ſpoil of every kind.

The news of this ſucceſs filled the Roman Senate with joy, and inſpired them with greater hopes, than thoſe which they had at firſt conceived. Inſtead of being ſatisfied with having relieved the Mamertines, and enriched themſelves by the war, they now began to think, that it would be no hard taſk to drive the Carthaginians intirely out of Sicily, and, by the acquiſition of that iſland, to add no ſmall increaſe to the ſtrength of their Republick. To this point therefore they directed all their views. And indeed on the part of the land forces, every thing ſeemed to promiſe a fair accompliſhment of their deſigns. The two new Conſuls, L. Valerius and T. Octacilius, maintained their ground in Sicily, and carried on the war with equal prudence and ſucceſs. But on the other hand, as long as the Carthaginians ſhould be ſuffered to remain ſole maſters

maſters of the ſea, the event muſt ſtill be doubtful. For though after the time when Agrigentum had firſt fallen into their hands, many of the inland cities, in deſpair of being able to reſiſt the Roman legions, had embraced their party, yet a greater number of thoſe that ſtood along the coaſt revolted from them, through terror of the Carthaginian fleets. Thus the ſucceſs on one ſide was ſtill balanced by ſome equal loſs. It was conſidered likewiſe, that the maritime parts of Italy were often pillaged and inſulted by the enemy, while the coaſts of Afric remained ſecure and unmoleſted. From all theſe reaſons, they at laſt reſolved, that they would oppoſe the Carthaginians upon the ſea.

Among the motives, which induced me to enter into a more minute deſcription of the War in Sicily, this was not the leaſt: that I might take occaſion to explain the time, and manner, in which the Romans firſt equipped a naval armament, together with the cauſes that gave birth to that attempt.

Their deſign then was, to bring the war to a ſpeedy and effectual concluſion. With this view, they reſolved to build a hundred Quinqueremes, and twenty Triremes. But one great difficulty occurred. Their builders were intirely unacquainted with the manner of conſtructing Quinqueremes; the uſe of which was then unknown in Italy. But in this deſign we may obſerve a moſt conſpicuous proof of that bold and daring ſpirit, which is peculiar to the Romans: who, though deſtitute of all the means that ſuch an enterprize required, and before they had even gained the leaſt degree of knowledge or experience in maritime affairs, could at once conceive, and carry into execution, ſo vaſt a project, and make the firſt trial of their forces againſt the Carthaginians, who had received from their anceſtors the undiſputed ſovereignty of the ſea. The following fact may ſerve to confirm the truth of this reflection. When this people firſt reſolved to ſend their

their forces over to Meſſana, they had neither any decked veſſels, or ſhips of tranſport, nor even a ſingle ſhallop. But having borrowed among the Tarentines, Eleates, Locrians, and Neapolitans, ſome boats of fifty oars, and a few Triremes, they boldly embarked the legions in thoſe veſſels.

The Carthaginians bore down upon them in their paſſage: when one of their Quinqueremes, advancing to the fight with too great eagerneſs, ſtruck upon the ſands, and was taken by the Romans. This veſſel was now made uſe of, as the model of their fleet: and indeed without ſome ſuch accident, their want of ſkill muſt ſoon have forced them to abandon the deſign.

While the workmen were buſy in building and fitting out the ſhips, others were employed to draw together a body of ſailors, and inſtruct them in the exerciſe of the oar. This was done in the following manner. They placed benches along the ſhore, upon which the rowers were ranged in the ſame order as at ſea, with a proper officer among them to give the command. In this ſituation, they accuſtomed themſelves to perform all the neceſſary motions of the body: to fall back together, and again to bend forwards; to contract and extend their arms; to begin, or leave off, according to the ſignals. After this preparation, the veſſels being now completely finiſhed, they ſailed out to ſea, and, when they had ſpent ſome little time in perfecting their exerciſe, advanced along the coaſt of Italy, agreeably to the orders which they had before received.

For Cn. Cornelius, who commanded the naval forces, had ſailed a few days before with ſeventeen ſhips towards Meſſana, to provide whatever might be wanted for the fleet: and had left directions with the other Captains, that they ſhould follow him as ſoon as they were ready. But while he lay at Meſſana, having received ſome intelligence which gave him hopes of taking the town of Lipara by ſurprize, he too eaſily

engaged in the deſign, and ſteered his courſe towards the place, with the ſhips juſt mentioned. But on the news of this attempt, Annibal, who then was ſtationed at Panormus, immediately ſent away the Senator Boodes, with twenty ſhips. Boodes, ſailing to the place by night, blocked up the Romans in the port. As ſoon as day appeared, the ſailors all fled from their ſhips, and eſcaped to land: and Cornelius, being ſtruck with terror, and perceiving no means of ſafety, ſurrendered himſelf to the enemy, who immediately returned back again to Annibal, carrying with them the Roman Conſul, and all his ſquadron. Not many days after this exploit, while the misfortune of the Romans was ſtill freſh and recent, an accident of the ſame kind proved almoſt fatal to Annibal himſelf. For having received information, that the whole Roman fleet had ſteered their courſe along the coaſt of Italy, and were now at no great diſtance, he preſently advanced with fifty veſſels, deſigning to take a view of their numbers, and of the order in which they ſailed. But he had ſcarcely doubled the promontory of Italy, when he found himſelf at once in the very midſt of the enemy, who were all diſpoſed in perfect order, and ready to engage. A great part of his ſhips were taken: but himſelf eſcaped with the reſt, though not without the greateſt difficulty. The Romans then held on their courſe to Sicily: and being there informed of what had happened to Cornelius, they ſent meſſengers to Duilius, who commanded the land forces in the iſland, and waited his arrival. At the ſame time, having received intelligence that the Carthaginians were at no great diſtance, they began to make the neceſſary preparations for an engagement. But becauſe their ſhips were built with little ſkill, and were both ſlow and heavy in their motions, it was reſolved to balance theſe defects by the uſe of certain Machines, which ſome perſon in the fleet had invented for the occaſion, and which were afterwards called by the Romans, CORVI. The deſcription of them is as follows.

They

They erected on the prow of every veſſel a round Pillar of wood, of about twelve feet in height, and of three palms breadth in diameter, with a Pully at the top. To this Pillar was fitted a kind of Stage, eighteen feet in length and four feet broad, which was made ladder-wiſe, of ſtrong timbers laid acroſs, and cramped together with iron: the Pillar being received into an oblong ſquare, which was opened for that purpoſe, at the diſtance of ſix feet within the end of the Stage. On either ſide of the Stage lengthways was a Parapet, which reached juſt above the knee. At the fartheſt end of this Stage, or Ladder, was a bar of iron, whoſe ſhape was ſomewhat like a Peſtle: but it was ſharpened at the bottom, or lower point; and on the top of it was a Ring. The whole appearance of this Machine very much reſembled thoſe that are uſed in grinding corn. To the Ring juſt mentioned was fixed a Rope; by which, with the help of the Pully that was at the top of the Pillar, they hoiſted up the Machines, and, as the veſſels of the enemy came near, let them fall upon them, ſometimes on their prow, and ſometimes on their ſides, as occaſion beſt ſerved. As the Machine fell, it ſtruck into the decks of the enemy, and held them faſt. In this ſituation, if the two veſſels happened to lay ſide by ſide, the Romans leaped on board from all parts of their ſhips at once. But in caſe that they were joined only by the prow, they then entered two and two along the Machine: the two foremoſt extending their bucklers right before them, to ward off the ſtrokes that were aimed againſt them in front; while thoſe that followed reſted the boſs of their bucklers upon the top of the Parapet on either ſide, and thus covered both their flanks. Having in this manner prepared their veſſels for the combat, they now only waited for the time to engage.

As ſoon as Duilius heard of the misfortune that had happened to the other Conſul, he left the care of the army to the Tribunes, and haſtened to the fleet: and having received infor-

mation that the enemy were employed in ravaging the plain of Mylæ, he preſently ſteered his courſe that way. The Carthaginians beheld their approach with joy; and immediately drew out their fleet, which conſiſted of a hundred and thirty ſhips: deſpiſing the inexperience of the Romans, and flattering themſelves with ſuch aſſurance of ſucceſs, that they even diſdained to form their ſquadron into any kind of order, and, turning their prows towards the enemy, bore down inſtantly upon them, as to a certain ſpoil. The Commander of the fleet was the ſame Annibal, who made his retreat by night from Agrigentum. He ſailed in a veſſel of ſeven Banks of oars, which had formerly belonged to Pyrrhus. As they approached more nearly to the Roman fleet, the ſight of thoſe ſtrange Machines, erected on the prow of every ſhip, occaſioned ſome little heſitation and ſurprize. After ſome time however, as their contempt of the enemy again took place, they advanced with the ſame ardour as before. But when their veſſels, as ſoon as they were joined in action, were grappled faſt by theſe new inſtruments of war, and when the Romans, inſtantly advancing along the Machines towards them, maintained the fight upon their very decks, one part of the Carthaginians were immediately deſtroyed, and the reſt threw down their arms, being ſtruck with terror by this new kind of combat, which ſeemed ſo nearly to reſemble an engagement upon land. The ſhips that had advanced the foremoſt of the fight, being thirty in number, were taken with their men. Among theſe was the General's ſhip. But Annibal himſelf found means to get on board a boat, and eſcaped, though not without the greateſt hazard.

The reſt of the ſquadron were now advancing to the fight: but having obſerved the fate of their companions, they at firſt turned aſide, in order to elude the ſtroke of the Machines. But as their ſhips were light, and eaſy in their motions, they ſoon reſumed their confidence, and began to fall upon the Roman

Roman veſſels, ſome in ſtern, and ſome upon their ſides; being perſuaded, that, with this precaution, they ſhould be ſecure from danger. But when they ſaw, with great aſtoniſhment, that, on which ſide ſoever they advanced, the CORVI ſtill hung over them, they were at laſt content to ſeek their ſafety in flight, with the loſs of fifty ſhips.

This great and unexpected ſucceſs upon the ſea encouraged the Romans to purſue the war with double ardour. They land their forces upon the iſland, near Ægeſta; raiſe the ſiege of that city, when it was reduced to the laſt extremity; and take Macella by ſtorm.

About the time when this victory was gained by ſea, Amilcar, who commanded the land forces of the Carthaginians, and was encamped near Panormus, having heard that ſome diſputes had happened between the Romans and their allies concerning the poſt of honour in the field, and that the allies were preparing to incamp apart between Thermæ and Paropus, fell ſuddenly upon them with all his forces, when they had juſt raiſed their camp, and killed near four thouſand men.

About the ſame time Annibal returned back to Carthage, with the ſhips that had eſcaped in the late engagement. Not long afterwards he ſailed from thence to Sardinia with the fleet; taking with him alſo ſome officers of the chieſeſt note. But being there ſurpriſed one day by the Romans, who from the time when they firſt appeared upon the ſea had reſolved to attempt the conqueſt of this iſland, and being blocked up by them in a certain harbour, ſo that many of his veſſels fell into their hands, he was ſeized and crucified by the Carthaginians who got ſafe to land.

The ſucceeding ſummer produced in Sicily nothing memorable on the part of the Romans. But the Conſuls of the following year, A. Atilius and C. Sulpicius, having led the army to Panormus, where the Carthaginians then lay in winter

winter quarters, drew up their forces in order of battle before the town. But when the enemy kept close behind their walls, they directed their route back again to Hippana, and took it in the first assault. Mytistratum was also taken: but not without much labour, and a siege of long continuance; for the natural situation of the place had rendered it very strong. They then marched to Camarina, which not long before had revolted from them: and having advanced their works close against the city, and with their engines battered down the walls, they soon forced it to surrender. After this success, the town of Enna, with many other little places that belonged to the Carthaginians, submitted to the Romans; who then resolved to form the siege of Lipara.

In the following year, Atilius the Roman Consul, who then lay at anchor in the port of Tyndaris, having perceived the Carthaginian fleet passing very near him, in a careless manner, and without any order, made haste immediately to pursue them with ten ships, and gave orders to the rest to follow as soon as they were ready. But when the Carthaginians saw, that one part of the enemy were already under sail, while others had scarcely yet got on board, and that the foremost ships had advanced far before the rest, they suddenly turned upon them, and surrounding them on every side, sunk the other vessels, and had almost taken that in which the Consul sailed. But because his ship was lighter than the rest, and well supplied with a body of the most skilful rowers, by the help of those advantages he escaped the danger. But in a short time afterwards, the rest of the Roman squadron advanced in order: and having all turned their prows, in one line, against the enemy, they engaged them with such vigour and success, that they took ten of their ships with all the men, destroyed eight more, and forced the others to retreat in haste towards the Liparean Islands.

As

As the advantages in this engagement had ſeemed to be on both ſides equal, they both reſumed their naval preparations with greater vigour than before; and reſolved to employ their whole attention, to obtain the ſovereignty of the ſea. During this time, the armies upon land performed no exploit that deſerves to be related: but waſted the whole campaign in ſlight and inconſiderable actions, of little moment or importance.

In the following ſummer, the Romans having employed, as we have ſaid, their utmoſt diligence to complete their naval preparations, ſailed out to ſea, with a fleet of three hundred and thirty decked ſhips, and caſt anchor at Meſſana. From thence, leaving Sicily on the right, and doubling the promontory Pachynus, they ſteered their courſe towards Ecnomus, where their army at that time lay. The Carthaginians, having alſo drawn together a fleet, which conſiſted of three hundred and fifty ſhips of war, ſailed firſt to Lilybæum, and from thence to Heraclea of Minos. The deſign of the Romans was, to divert the war from Sicily to Afric, and conſtrain the Carthaginians to employ their ſtrength in the defence of their own proper country. The Carthaginians on the other hand, being ſenſible that their coaſts were open, and that the people of the country muſt become an eaſy prey, if the enemy ſhould once gain the land, reſolved to intercept them in the attempt, and force them to a battle.

When ſuch were the ſentiments on either ſide, it was eaſy to diſcern, that an engagement ſoon muſt follow. The Romans therefore made ſuch a diſpoſition of their forces, that they were equally prepared either to proceed in their intended deſcent upon the coaſts of Afric, or to accept a battle, in caſe that it ſhould now be offered by the Carthaginians. They ſelected from the land army all their choiceſt troops; and having divided the fleet into four ſeparate bodies, aſſigned to each of them a double name. The firſt diviſion was called, the firſt Legion, and the firſt Squadron: and ſo the reſt. The

laſt only, being not diſtinguiſhed by any ſuch particular denomination, was ſtiled in general, the Triarii: the name, which is appropriated to the laſt diviſion in the armies upon land. The whole fleet conſiſted of a hundred and forty thouſand men: each veſſel containing one hundred and twenty ſoldiers, and three hundred ſeamen. On the other hand, the forces of the Carthaginians, whoſe preparations were made wholly for the ſea, amounted to more than a hundred and fifty thouſand; if we compute them from the number of their ſhips. How impoſſible is it, I do not ſay to behold ſo vaſt an armament, but even to hear a bare deſcription of it, without being fixed in admiration, both of the importance of the conteſt, and of the power and ſtrength of the two Republicks that were thus engaged.

The Romans, having conſidered that the courſe which they were obliged to ſteer lay through the open ſea, and that the chief advantage of the enemy conſiſted in the lightneſs and celerity of their ſhips, reſolved to make ſuch a diſpoſition as might render their whole fleet firm, compact, and very difficult to be broken. For this purpoſe, two veſſels carrying ſix Banks of oars, being thoſe in which the Conſuls ſailed, were firſt placed ſide by ſide in front. Each of theſe was followed by a line of veſſels; the firſt ſquadron making one Line; and the ſecond the other: the ſhips of either Line extending themſelves to a greater diſtance ſtill as they advanced, and gradually widening the area of the figure. Their prows were all turned outwards. The firſt and ſecond Squadrons being thus diſpoſed in form of a Wedge, they drew up the third diviſion in a line behind: ſo that the whole reſembled the figure of a Triangle; the third Squadron conſtituting the Baſe. Theſe laſt were followed by the Tranſports, which they held in tow. Laſt of all came the Triarii, or fourth diviſion, ranged likewiſe in a line of ſingle ſhips, but ſo extended, as to cover both the flanks of the line before them. This Diſpoſition reſembled,

as

as I ſaid, the figure of a Triangle, the upper part of which was hollow, and the Baſe ſolid: the whole being ſtrong, and proper for action, and ſuch as could not eaſily be broken by the enemy.

The Carthaginian Generals, having animated their men as the occaſion required, and repreſented to them in few words, that if they ſhould gain the victory in the preſent combat, the buſineſs of the war would ſtill be confined to Sicily as before, but that in caſe they were defeated, they muſt then be forced to defend their country, families, and poſſeſſions againſt the Romans, ordered all immediately to get on board. The forces, being fully ſenſible of the truth of what was ſpoken to them, received the order with alacrity, and came ſailing from the harbour full of hope and eager reſolution. The Generals, having remarked the diſpoſition of the enemy, ranged three parts of all their fleet in a line of ſingle ſhips, extending the right wing far out to ſea, with deſign to ſurround the Romans, and turning all their prows towards them. The remaining part was poſted on the left, very near to the ſhore, and in the figure which is called the FORCEPS. The right wing, compoſed of all the Quinqueremes and Gallies, which, from their lightneſs and celerity were moſt proper for the deſign of ſurrounding the enemy, was led by Hanno, whoſe army was defeated in the ſiege of Agrigentum: and the left was committed to the care of Amilcar, who commanded in the former battle of Tyndaris. This General took his ſtation in the centre of the line, and, as ſoon as the fight began, put in practice the following ſtratagem.

The Romans, when they ſaw that the enemy were ranged in a line of ſingle ſhips, began the combat by attacking their centre. But the Carthaginians in the centre received orders from Amilcar immediately to retreat, that they might thus force the Romans to break the order of their battle. They fly accordingly with the greateſt haſte: and the Romans followed

them with eagerneſs. By this contrivance, the firſt and ſecond Squadrons of the Romans were ſoon divided from the third, which held the tranſport-ſhips in tow, and from the Triarii, who were drawn up behind to ſupport the reſt. When they were ſeparated to a ſufficient diſtance, the Carthaginians, upon a ſignal given from Amilcar's ſhip, ſuddenly turned about and fell with fury upon the veſſels that purſued them. The fight was obſtinate; and the advantages on both ſides for ſome time equal. For though the Carthaginians were far ſuperior in the lightneſs of their ſhips, and in their ſkill in advancing or retreating, and attacking the enemy on every ſide; yet the Romans derived no leſs aſſurances of victory, from the vigour and courage of their troops, the advantage of their Machines, and the preſence of both the Conſuls, under whoſe eyes the ſoldiers fought. Such was the ſtate of the action on that ſide.

About this time Hanno, who commanded in the right Wing at ſome diſtance from the veſſels that were firſt engaged, ſtretched out to ſea, and bearing down upon the Triarii, threw them into great diſorder. The Carthaginians alſo that were ranged along the coaſt, having changed their firſt diſpoſition, and turned their prows in front towards the enemy, advanced againſt the Squadron that towed the tranſports. Thus the whole engagement conſiſted at once of three different combats, maintained in different places. And becauſe in each of theſe diviſions, the ſtrength of the combatants was nearly equal, the ſucceſs was alſo for ſome time equal. But in the progreſs of the action, the affair was brought at laſt to a deciſion: a different one perhaps, than what might reaſonably have been expected in ſuch circumſtances. For the Roman Squadron, that had begun the engagement, gained ſo full a victory, that Amilcar was forced to fly, and the Conſul Manlius brought away the veſſels that were taken.

The other Conſul, having now perceived the danger in

which the Triarii and the tranſports were involved, haſtened to their aſſiſtance with the ſecond Squadron, which was ſtill intire. The Triarii, having received theſe ſuccours, when they were juſt upon the point of yielding, again reſumed their courage, and renewed the fight with vigour: ſo that the enemy, being ſurrounded on every ſide in a manner ſo ſudden and unexpected, and attacked at once both in the front and rear, were at laſt conſtrained to ſteer away to ſea.

About this time Manlius alſo, returning from the engagement, obſerved that the ſhips of the third Squadron were forced in cloſe to the ſhore, and there blocked up, by the left diviſion of the Carthaginian fleet. He joined his forces therefore with thoſe of the other Conſul, who had now placed the Tranſports and Triarii in ſecurity, and haſtened to aſſiſt theſe veſſels, which were ſo inveſted by the enemy, that they ſeemed to ſuffer a kind of ſiege. And indeed they muſt all have been long before deſtroyed, if the Carthaginians, through apprehenſion of the CORVI, had not ſtill kept themſelves at diſtance, and declined a cloſe engagement. But the Conſuls, having now advanced together, ſurround the enemy, and take fifty of their ſhips with all the men. The reſt, being but few in number, ſteered cloſe along the ſhore, and ſaved themſelves by flight.

Such were the circumſtances of this engagement: in which, the victory at laſt was wholly on the ſide of the Romans. Twenty-four of their ſhips were ſunk in the action; and more than thirty of the Carthaginians. No veſſel of the Romans fell into the hands of the enemy: but ſixty-four of the Carthaginians were taken with their men.

After this ſucceſs, the Romans, having ſupplied the fleet with new proviſions, repaired the veſſels that were taken from the enemy, and ſhewn ſuch care of their naval forces as the late victory well deſerved, again ſailed out to ſea, and ſteered their courſe towards the coaſt of Afric. The foremoſt ſhips,

arriving at Hermæa, caſt anchor there, and waited for the reſt of the fleet. The Promontory, called Hermæa, is ſituated upon the extreme edge of the Gulph of Carthage, from whence it extends far out to ſea, and points towards the coaſt of Sicily. When the other veſſels were arrived, they all ſailed together along the coaſt, till they came to Aſpis. And having there diſembarked their forces, drawn their ſhips to land, and thrown up an intrenchment round them, they reſolved immediately to inveſt the city, having firſt in vain invited the inhabitants to ſurrender.

CHAP. III.

THE Carthaginians, who had eſcaped from the late engagement, and returned ſafe to Carthage, were perſuaded that the Romans, elated by ſo great a victory, would immediately direct their courſe towards that city. They made therefore the neceſſary diſpoſition, both by land and ſea, for ſecuring all the approaches to the coaſt. But when they heard that the enemy had already diſembarked their troops, and were laying ſiege to Aſpis, having now loſt all hope of being able to prevent their landing, they began to levy forces, and employed all their care to fortify the city and the adjoining country.

The Romans ſoon forced Aſpis to ſurrender: and having left in the place a proper garriſon, they ſent ſome meſſengers to Rome, to convey the news of their ſucceſs, and to receive inſtructions with regard to the meaſures that were next to be purſued. They then decamped with all their forces, and marched through the country, to waſte and plunder it. Finding no reſiſtance from the enemy, they deſtroyed many houſes of great magnificence, and returned back again to their ſhips, carrying with them a great quantity of cattle, and more than twenty thouſand ſlaves.

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The meſſengers about this time returned from Rome, with orders, that one of the Conſuls ſhould remain in Afric with the forces that were neceſſary, and the other carry back the fleet. Regulus therefore was left behind, with fifteen thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and forty of the ſhips: while Manlius, taking with him the priſoners, and the reſt of the naval forces, paſſed ſafely along the coaſt of Sicily, and arrived at Rome.

The Carthaginians, perceiving from the preparations that were made, that the enemy had no deſign to leave the country, choſe at firſt two Generals, Boſtar, and Aſdrubal the ſon of Hanno, and ſent afterwards for Amilcar likewiſe from Heraclea. Amilcar ſailed in haſte to Carthage, with five thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe: and being declared third General, he held a conſultation with Aſdrubal and the other Chief, concerning the meaſures that were moſt proper to be taken. It was ſoon reſolved, that they ſhould lead the forces againſt the enemy; and not ſuffer them thus to waſte the country without reſiſtance. The Conſul, after ſome days, advanced again with his army through the country; ſtorming all the poſts that were not fortified with walls, and reducing the reſt by ſiege. Being at laſt arrived near Adis, a city of ſome importance, he incamped before it, prepared his works, and began to preſs the ſiege with vigour. The Carthaginians, in order to relieve the place, and ſave the country round it from deſtruction, directed their march that way with all their forces, and fixed their camp upon a hill, which indeed overlooked the enemy, but was in every other reſpect a very improper ſituation for their army. For as their chief ſtrength conſiſted in their Elephants and Cavalry, they ſhould in prudence have incamped upon the open plain: whereas by marching into places that were ſteep, confined, and craggy, they ſeemed to inſtruct their enemies in what manner they beſt might act againſt them. And this indeed was the event. For the Romans

mans wiſely judging that the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſerviceable part of the Carthaginian army, and that which they had the greateſt cauſe to dread, was rendered wholly uſeleſs by their ſituation, reſolved to ſeize the occaſion, and engage the enemy, before they ſhould deſcend into the plain. They drew out their forces therefore at break of day, and began the attack on both ſides of the hill. The Carthaginian Cavalry and Elephants were not able to perform any ſervice in the action. But the mercenaries ſtood for ſome time firm, and maintained the fight with ſo much vigour, that they forced the firſt legion to give ground. But when theſe troops were attacked behind, and diſperſed with little difficulty, by the Romans who had aſcended the hill on the other ſide, the whole army then fled at once from the camp, and a general rout enſued. The Elephants with the Cavalry gained the plain, and eſcaped. The Romans, having for ſome time purſued the Infantry, returned back to the camp, and pillaged it; and marched afterwards at leiſure through the country, waſting and deſtroying all the cities in their way: and having at laſt poſſeſſed themſelves of Tunis, they there incamped; becauſe this city not only ſeemed commodious for the occaſions of the war, but was alſo ſituated with great advantage, for infeſting Carthage itſelf, and all the adjoining country.

The Carthaginians were now reduced to a condition, which indeed ſeemed next to deſperate. For beſides theſe two defeats, the one by ſea the other upon land, which were both occaſioned not ſo much through any want of courage in the troops, as by the unſkilful conduct of the Generals, the Numidians had alſo ſent detachments into their territories, and committed even greater devaſtations, than the Romans. The people all left their habitations in the country, and fled to Carthage. Their numbers ſoon occaſioned a moſt dreadful famine in the place: while the apprehenſions alſo of a ſudden ſiege filled every heart with conſternation and diſmay.

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But Regulus, who had given ſo great a ſhock to the ſtrength of Carthage both by land and ſea, that the city itſelf ſeemed almoſt ready to ſurrender to him, began now to fear, that a new Conſul might arrive from Rome, and rob him of the glory of finiſhing the war. He invited therefore the Carthaginians to a treaty. The offer was embraced with pleaſure: and ſome of the Chiefs of the city were ſent to ſettle the conditions with him. But ſo far were they from yielding their conſent in any point to the terms that were propoſed, that they ſcarcely could ſubmit to hear them. For Regulus, as if he had been already maſter of their fate, ſeemed to think, that every thing which he was inclined to grant, ſhould be accepted by them as mere grace and favour. But the ambaſſadors, perceiving that though they ſhould entirely be reduced beneath the Roman yoke, no worſe conditions could be impoſed, than thoſe that now were offered, not only returned again without concluding any treaty, but were greatly offended alſo and incenſed by the unyielding haughtineſs of the Conſul. The Carthaginian Senate, when they knew the terms that were demanded, aſſumed a noble conſtancy; and, though they were almoſt ready to deſpair of ſafety, reſolved to encounter every danger, and put in practice every expedient that time might offer, rather than by a baſe ſubmiſſion to diſgrace the glory of their former actions.

About this time, one of thoſe that had been ſent by the Carthaginians into Greece, to raiſe ſome mercenaries in that country, returned to Carthage, bringing with him a large body of troops. Among them was a certain Lacedæmonian, named Xantippus, who had been educated in the Spartan diſcipline, and from thence had gained a perfect knowledge in the art of war. As ſoon as he was informed of all the circumſtances of the late defeat, and had ſeen the nature of the Carthaginian forces, with the numbers of their Horſe and Elephants, he began firſt to reflect within himſelf, and afterwards

wards to declare among his friends, that the Carthaginians had not been vanquiſhed by the Romans, but owed their loſſes to their own miſtakes, and to the want of ſkill in their Commanders. This diſcourſe being ſoon ſpread among the people, as it happens in ſuch conjunctures, came at laſt to the ears of the Generals and the Magiſtrates, who ordered Xantippus to be called. When he came before them, he explained with ſo much clearneſs the cauſes of their late misfortune, and ſhewed ſuch ſtrong aſſurances of victory, in caſe that they now would yield to his advice, and chooſe the open plains for their incampments, marches, battles, that the Chiefs with one voice applauded all his ſentiments, and committed the care of the army to him.

From the time when this diſcourſe was firſt known among the people, a kind of joyful rumour began to ſpread through all the city, and raiſed a general expectation of ſome happy change. But when Xantippus drew up the troops in order without the walls, and formed them into ſeveral bodies; training and inſtructing each of them to move according to the rules of military diſcipline; a ſkill, ſo viſibly ſuperior to that of the other Generals, forced loud applauſes from the multitude. They demanded to be led immediately againſt the enemy: and ſeemed to be aſſured, that under ſuch a Chief they could never ſuffer any loſs. The Generals, when they ſaw the courage of the ſoldiers thus reſtored, harangued them in ſuch words as the time required, and in a few days afterwards began their march. Their army was compoſed of twelve thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe, beſides Elephants, which amounted to near a hundred. The Romans were under ſome ſurprize, when they ſaw that the Carthaginians now for the firſt time choſe the open plains both for their marches and incampments. They reſolved however to meet and engage them without delay. Having advanced therefore with all their forces, on the firſt day they fixed their camp

camp at the diſtance of ten ſtadia only from the enemy. On the following day the Carthaginian Generals held a conſultation, in order to determine what was neceſſary to be done. But the ſoldiers ran together in crouds, and calling aloud upon the name of Xantippus, demanded to be led without delay againſt the enemy. The Generals perceiving the great alacrity and confidence of the troops, and being alſo ſtrongly urged by the intreaties of Xantippus, who preſſed them inſtantly to ſeize the occaſion that was offered, gave orders to prepare for the engagement, and committed to Xantippus the care and diſpoſition of the whole. Xantippus, being intruſted with this power, ranged the Elephants in a ſingle line, in front; and behind them, at a moderate diſtance, the Carthaginian Phalanx. He poſted on the right Wing one part of the mercenaries: the reſt, that were more lightly armed, were equally diſtributed into either Wing, together with the Horſe.

The Romans alſo drew up their army in battle with equal readineſs. Their chief care was, to ſecure themſelves againſt the Elephants, which they greatly dreaded. For this purpoſe, having placed their light-armed troops in front, they drew up the legions in deep and cloſe order behind, and divided the Cavalry upon the Wings. Thus they leſſened the uſual extent of their front; but gave a greater depth to the body of their army. So that upon the whole, their diſpoſition was well adapted to ſuſtain the ſhock of the Elephants; but was wholly ineffectual for reſiſting the Carthaginian Cavalry, which in numbers far exceeded that of the Romans.

In this order both armies ſtood a while, expecting the ſignal to engage. But when Xantippus ordered the Elephants to approach, and break the ranks of the enemy, while the Horſe on either wing, advancing in the ſame moment to the charge, endeavoured to ſurround them, then the Romans, claſhing their armour after their cuſtom, ran forward with loud cries to the engagement. Their Horſe, overpowered by

numbers, were ſoon turned to flight. But the Infantry of the left Wing, led on by their contempt of the mercenary troops, and being deſirous likewiſe to avoid the ſhock of the Elephants, fell furiouſly upon the right Wing of the Carthaginians, and having routed them with little difficulty, purſued them even to their camp. The troops that firſt encountered with the Elephants, were ſoon deſtroyed, and trampled down in heaps: but the main body of the army remained for ſome time firm, by reaſon of the depth and cloſeneſs of the files. But when the hindmoſt ranks were obliged to face about, and engage the Cavalry, that had now ſurrounded them; and when thoſe who had forced their way beyond the Elephants, were charged by the Carthaginian Phalanx, which was ſtill entire; then were the Romans diſtreſſed on every ſide, and deſtitute of all reſource. The greateſt part were trodden down in heaps, under the enormous weight of the Elephants; and the reſt deſtroyed in their very ranks by the javelins thrown from the Horſe. A ſmall number only hoped to find their ſafety in flight. But as their way lay through a flat and open country, the Elephants and Cavalry ſoon overtook, and deſtroyed the greater part. About five hundred only were taken alive: and among theſe, the Conſul Regulus. The Carthaginians loſt in the action eight hundred of their mercenary forces, who were attacked and routed by the left wing of the Roman army. Of the Romans, about two thouſand men, being thoſe that had charged the mercenaries, were ſeparated, in the courſe of the purſuit, to a diſtance from the army: and having thus eſcaped the general ſlaughter, they retreated ſafe to Aſpis. The reſt all were ſlain upon the place; the Conſul alone excepted, and thoſe that were taken with him. The Carthaginians having ſpoiled the dead, returned back again to Carthage: exulting in their ſucceſs, and carrying with them the Conſul Regulus, and the other priſoners.

How

How wide a field of reflection is opened to us by this event: and what admirable leſſons does it contain, for the good conduct of human life. In the fate of Regulus we may diſcern, how little confidence ſhould be repoſed in Fortune: eſpecially, when ſhe flatters with the faireſt hopes. For He, who a few days before beheld the miſerable ſtate, to which the Carthaginians were reduced, without remorſe or pity, was now himſelf led captive by them; and forced to implore his ſafety of thoſe very enemies, to whom he had ſhewn no mercy. We may alſo remark in this event the truth of that Saying of Euripides; "That one wiſe Counſel is better than the Strength of many." For here, the wiſdom of one man defeated legions that were thought invincible; infuſed new life into a people, whoſe loſſes had even almoſt rendered them inſenſible of miſery; and ſaved their tottering State from ruin. Let the Reader then take care to reap ſome profit from theſe examples; and apply them to the improvement of his life and manners. For ſince there are two ſources only, from whence any real benefit can be derived; our own misfortunes, and thoſe that have happened to other men; and ſince the firſt of theſe, though generally perhaps the moſt effectual, is far more dangerous and painful than the other; it will always be the part of prudence to prefer the latter, which will alone enable us at all times to diſcern whatever is fit and uſeful, without any hazard or diſquiet. And hence appears the genuine excellence of Hiſtory: which, without expoſing us to the labour or the coſt of ſuffering, inſtructs us how to form our actions upon the trueſt models, and to direct our judgement right in all the different circumſtances of life. But let us return from this digreſſion.

After a victory ſo complete, the Carthaginians ſet no bounds to the expreſſions of their joy; but poured out inceſſant acknowledgements to the Gods, and ſtrove to outdo each other in all the acts of hoſpitality and kindneſs. But Xantippus,

who had thus ſaved their State from ruin, returned back again to Greece, within a ſhort time after. In this he ſhewed great prudence and diſcernment. For ſignal and important ſervices ſeldom fail to excite ſharp malevolence and calumny; which though a native of the country, ſupported by his friends and family, may perhaps be able to reſiſt and conquer, yet foreigners are uſually oppreſſed and ruined by them. Some writers give a different account of the departure of this General, which I ſhall examine in its proper place.

As ſoon as the Romans heard, that the affairs in Afric had proved ſo contrary to all their hopes, they immediately prepared a fleet, to bring away the men that had eſcaped in the late engagement. On the other hand, the Carthaginians advanced and laid ſiege to Aſpis, hoping to get theſe troops into their hands. But meeting with a ſtout and vigorous reſiſtance, they were at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege. Being then informed, that the Romans were fitting out a fleet, with deſign to return to Afric, they repaired all their old veſſels, and built ſome new; and having in a ſhort time equipped a fleet of two hundred ſhips, ſailed out to ſea, to obſerve the motions of the enemy.

In the beginning of the ſummer, the Romans came out to ſea, with a fleet of three hundred and fifty ſhips, under the command of the Conſuls, M. Æmilius and Servius Fulvius; and ſailed along the coaſt of Sicily towards Afric. Near the promontory Hermæa, having met with and engaged the Carthaginians, they defeated them even in the firſt attack with little difficulty, and took a hundred and fourteen of their veſſels with all the men. They then received on board the troops that had eſcaped to Aſpis, and directed their route back again to Sicily. But when they had completed the greateſt part of their courſe, and were now approaching the Camarinean coaſt, they were ſuddenly attacked by a tempeſt ſo great and terrible, that no words can ſufficiently deſcribe the

the horrors of it. Of four hundred and ſixty-four veſſels, no more than eighty eſcaped the fury of this ſtorm: the reſt being either buried in the ocean, or daſhed againſt the rocks and promontories. The whole ſhore was covered with dead bodies, and with broken ſhips: ſo that Hiſtory ſcarcely can afford another example of ſo great and general a deſtruction. This misfortune was not ſo much to be aſcribed to accident, as to the imprudent obſtinacy of the Conſuls. For the Pilots had given them repeated warnings, not to ſail along the exterior coaſt of Sicily, which looks towards Afric, where the ſhore was open, and afforded no convenient harbour: eſpecially too, as the ſeaſon was then the moſt unfavourable for navigation; the conſtellation of Orion being not quite paſſed, and the Dog-ſtar juſt ready to appear. But the Conſuls deſpiſed their admonitions, and held on their courſe along the coaſt: being tempted by the hopes of gaining certain towns, which they flattered themſelves would ſurrender to them without reſiſtance, upon the firſt approach of their victorious fleet. Thus were they hurried, by the proſpect of ſome ſlight advantage, into misfortunes that were irretrievable; and which forced from them an acknowledgement of their raſhneſs, when it was now too late to remedy it. But ſuch in truth is the diſpoſition of the Romans. Hot and violent in their purſuits, they perſuade themſelves, that whatever they undertake muſt of neceſſity be accompliſhed: and that nothing is impoſſible, which they have once reſolved to carry into execution. Their ſucceſs has been often owing to this perſuaſion: though it cannot be denied, that on many occaſions it has alſo proved the only cauſe of their misfortunes; eſpecially upon the ſea. For in land engagements, where the conteſt only lies againſt the ſtrength of men, and human preparations, this confidence alone will frequently force the victory to their ſide. Yet even in ſuch conjunctures, they have ſometimes been deceived in the event. But when they preſume to encounter with the winds

winds and ſea, and challenge all the elements to combat, what wonder is it, if they are then involved in the worſt calamities. For ſuch was now the puniſhment that befel their raſhneſs: the ſame that in former times had happened to them: and which muſt again hereafter happen; unleſs they find ſome means to moderate that daring and impetuous ſpirit, by which they are perſuaded, that both land and ſea are at all times ſubject to their controul.

The deſtruction of the Roman fleet, together with the victory that had been obtained by land againſt them not long before, inclined the Carthaginians to believe, that they now ſhould prove ſuperior to the enemy both by land and ſea. They reſumed their preparations therefore with greater diligence and vigour than before: and in a ſhort time afterwards, ſent Aſdrubal to Sicily; having added to his army the forces that were brought from Heraclea, together with a hundred and forty elephants. They refitted alſo two hundred ſhips, and equipped them for the war. Aſdrubal being arrived at Lilybæum without any accident, exerciſed his troops and elephants, and ſeemed reſolved to maintain the field againſt the enemy.

The Romans having received a full account of the deſtruction of their veſſels, from thoſe that had eſcaped the ſtorm, were ſenſibly afflicted for their loſs. But being determined not to yield, they reſolved to build another fleet, entirely new, which ſhould conſiſt of two hundred and twenty ſhips. And what will ſcarcely obtain belief, in three months time this vaſt armament was all completely finiſhed, and ſailed out to ſea under the command of the two new Conſuls, A. Atilius and Cn. Cornelius. They paſſed the Straits; and being joined at Meſſana by the veſſels that had eſcaped the ſtorm, ſo that their whole fleet now conſiſted of three hundred ſhips, they directed their courſe towards Panormus, the moſt conſiderable of all the Carthaginian cities, in order to beſiege it.

They

They threw up works on both ſides of the place, and planted their machines againſt it. And having with little difficulty battered down the fort that ſtood neareſt to the ſea, they entered immediately by the breach, and made themſelves maſters of the new town upon the firſt aſſault. The old, deſpairing to make any long reſiſtance, ſurrendered at diſcretion. The Conſuls having thus gained poſſeſſion of the City, left in it a ſufficient garriſon, and returned to Rome.

In the following ſummer, the Conſuls Cn. Servilius and C. Sempronius ſailed again to Sicily with all the fleet, and from thence ſteered their courſe to Afric. They made many deſcents upon the coaſt, but without performing any action of importance. But as they were ſailing near the iſland Meninx, which is inhabited by the Lotophagi, and lies contiguous to the little Syrtis, their ignorance of the coaſt proved almoſt fatal to them. For as the ſea was then at ebb, their fleet ſtuck faſt upon the ſands. In this diſtreſs, they had almoſt loſt all hopes of ſafety. But ſome time afterwards, the tide ſuddenly returned when they leaſt expected it, and freed them from the danger. For having thrown over all their baggage and heavy furniture, they at laſt ſet ther veſſels afloat again, though not without much pains and labour; and ſteering back to Sicily with great precipitation, caſt anchor at Panormus. From thence as they paſſed the Straits, and were ſailing on to Rome, with their uſual diſregard of every thing that might befal them, they were again attacked by a very dreadful ſtorm, in which a hundred and fifty of their veſſels periſhed.

The Romans were unable to ſupport ſuch great and repeated loſſes. And though their ardour was not ſlackened, nor their zeal in the leaſt abated, they were forced by mere neceſſity to lay aſide all farther attempts upon the ſea, and depend intirely upon their land forces, for a happy iſſue of the war. They therefore ſent the Conſuls, L. Cecilius and Cn. Furius,

Cn. Furius, into Sicily with the legions; equipping only ſixty veſſels, to convey proviſions to the army.

On the other hand, theſe misfortunes ſeemed to open to the Carthaginians the faireſt proſpect of advantage and ſucceſs. They were now ſole maſters of the ſea, which was abandoned by the Romans. And with regard to the armies upon land, they began to be perſuaded, and not without good reaſon, that their troops would prove ſuperior to the enemy. For the Romans, having heard what horrible deſtruction the elephants had ſpread among their ranks, in the battle that was fought in Afric, were ſo poſſeſſed with apprehenſions of the fury of thoſe beaſts, that during the courſe of two whole years from that engagement, though they frequently fixed their camp within the diſtance of five or ſix ſtadia from the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Selinus and Lilybæum, they never once dared to venture on a battle, or even to truſt their army in the plains. They reduced indeed the towns of Lipara and Thermæ: but during the ſiege of both, were always careful to poſt their troops in places that were ſteep and difficult of acceſs. When the Romans ſaw, that ſo great dejection and diſmay had ſpread through all the army, they reſolved to change their meaſures, and reſume their naval preparations. As ſoon therefore as C. Atilius and L. Manlius were elected Conſuls, they built fifty ſhips, and began to make levies for the ſea with the greateſt diligence.

The Carthaginian General Aſdrubal, having remarked the conſternation that lately had appeared among the Romans, whenever their armies were forced to take the field; and being informed that one of the Conſuls had returned to Italy with one half of the troops, and that Cecilius was left behind at Panormus with the reſt, to cover the harveſt of the allies, which was juſt now ripe; marched his army from Lilybæum towards Panormus, and incamped upon the frontier of the diſtrict. Cecilius ſaw the confidence with which the enemy advanced

advanced towards him, and, with deſign ſtill more to heighten it, kept his army cloſe within the city. Aſdrubal, deceived by this appearance, grew bolder than before: and being perſuaded that the Romans wanted courage to oppoſe him, advanced with his army through the paſſes, deſtroyed the harveſt every where, and waſted all the country. The Conſul ſtill kept cloſe behind the walls; till the enemy ſhould have paſſed a river that ran near the city. But no ſooner had the elephants with the army gained the other ſide, than Cecilius ſent againſt them a part of his light-armed forces, to harraſs the foremoſt troops, and conſtrain the Carthaginians to draw up all their army in order of battle. When this was done, he placed his light-armed troops before the intrenchments; with orders that they ſhould throw their javelins at the elephants as they advanced, and, whenever they found themſelves too cloſely preſſed, retire back again to the trenches, and from thence ſally out from time to time, and make a freſh diſcharge upon them. The combatants were ſupplied with weapons in great numbers by the artificers of the city, who were drawn up in order for that purpoſe at the foot of the walls. The Conſul himſelf was poſted with the legions without the gate that looked towards the left wing of the enemy, and ſent away continual detachments to ſupport the light-armed forces. As ſoon as the fight grew warm, the leaders of the elephants, in hopes of ſecuring to themſelves the honour of the victory, advanced with eagerneſs againſt the foremoſt combatants, turned them to flight with little difficulty, and purſued them cloſe to the intrenchments. But the elephants, being now expoſed to all the fury both of the archers from the walls, and of thoſe that were poſted in the trenches, who lanced their weapons at them without remiſſion and with ſure ſucceſs, grew mad at laſt with rage; and turning back upon their own forces, trampled them down in heaps, and broke and diſſipated all

the ranks. Cecilius ſeized the time of this confuſion, and advancing againſt the left wing of the Carthaginians, with the legions which were ſtill entire and diſpoſed in perfect order, fell upon the enemy in flank, and ſoon cauſed a general rout. Many were deſtroyed in the place, and the reſt forced to fly in great diſorder. Ten elephants were taken, with the Indians who conducted them. The reſt, having thrown their guides, were ſurrounded after the engagement, and were all likewiſe taken. After this great victory, it was confeſſed by all, that Cecilius by his wiſe and ſkilful conduct had infuſed new life and ſpirit into the Roman armies, and given them confidence once more to face the enemy in the field.

The account of this ſucceſs was received at Rome with the greateſt joy: not ſo much becauſe the loſs of the elephants had weakened the Carthaginian army, as becauſe a victory once gained againſt thoſe beaſts had reſtored the courage of the legions. They therefore reſumed their firſt deſign, and reſolved to employ again a naval armament; and thus by exerting together all their ſtrength, to bring the war at laſt to a concluſion. When all their preparations were completed, the Conſuls with a fleet of two hundred ſhips ſteered their courſe to Sicily. It was now the fourteenth year of the war. They arrived at Lilybæum; and being joined by the legions that were there incamped, they prepared to lay ſiege to the city. For they had conſidered with themſelves, that if they could once be able to obtain poſſeſſion of this place, it would be eaſy to tranſport their forces from thence to Afric. The Carthaginians on their part penetrated into this deſign, and made the ſame reflections upon the conſequences of it. Neglecting therefore all the other buſineſs of the war, they made haſte to draw together their forces, and reſolved to uſe their utmoſt efforts, to defeat the enemy in this attempt. For in their preſent circumſtances, the loſs of Lilybæum would leave

leave them deſtitute at once of all reſource: ſince the Romans already were poſſeſſed of all the other cities of importance in the iſland, Drepanum alone excepted.

But leſt this part of the Hiſtory ſhould prove obſcure and unintelligible to thoſe who are unacquainted with the places of which we now are ſpeaking, we ſhall endeavour, in few words, to give the reader ſome right conception of the manner in which the iſland and it's ſeveral parts are ſituated.

The whole of Sicily in it's ſituation bears the ſame reſpect to Italy, as the Peloponneſus does to the reſt of Greece. But in this they are different; that the one is an iſland, ſeparated from the continent by a narrow ſea; the other a Peninſula, the approach to which lies along a ſmall neck of land. The form of Sicily is triangular: and the angles are ſo many promontories. The firſt, inclining to the ſouth, and extending into the Sicilian ſea, is called Pachynus. The ſecond, named Pelorus, and ſtanding to the north, bounds the Straits upon the weſtern ſide, and is diſtant from Italy about twelve ſtadia. The third, which is the weſtern Promontory, called Lilybæum, ſtands oppoſite to the ſhore of Afric; and lies commodious for paſſing over to thoſe promontories which we before have mentioned, being diſtant from them about a thouſand ſtadia. It alſo divides the ſeas of Afric and Sardinia.

Adjoining to this laſt promontory was a city of the ſame name, which the Romans were now preparing to beſiege. It was ſecured by a wall and ditch, of a very uncommon ſtrength and depth; and by ſtanding lakes that were filled with the waters of the ſea. And as the paſſage to the harbour lay over theſe, it was not to be entered without the greateſt hazard, by thoſe that were unacquainted with the ground. The Romans incamped on both ſides of the town: and having fortified the ſpace between their camps with an intrenchment and a wall, began their firſt attack againſt a fort that ſtood upon the ſhore, on the ſide of the African ſea. By making their

approaches without remiſſion, and adding new works continually to the former, they at laſt demoliſhed ſix of the towers that ſtood contiguous to the fort, and prepared to batter down the reſt. As the ſiege was preſſed with all imaginable earneſtneſs and vigour, the towers already in part deſtroyed, and the reſt ſo weakened as to threaten ſpeedy ruin, while the enemy gained ground in their approaches every day, and advanced their works ſtill nearer to the city, the garriſon within, though it amounted to full ten thouſand men beſides the inhabitants, was ſeized with the utmoſt conſternation. But Imilco, who commanded in the city, by his pains and unwearied ardour gave no ſmall reſiſtance to the progreſs of the enemy; repairing every where the breaches; digging countermines; and tranſporting himſelf from place to place, hoping to find ſome moment in which he might be able to ſet fire to the Roman works. For this purpoſe, he made many deſperate ſallies both by night and day; in which, greater numbers ſometimes were deſtroyed, than even in regular engagements.

While things were in this condition, ſome of the chief officers that led the mercenary troops formed the deſign of betraying the city to the enemy; and thinking themſelves ſecure of the compliance of the ſoldiers, went privately by night to the Roman camp, and concerted the project with the Conſuls. But a certain Achæan, named Alexo, who ſome time before had ſaved the town of Agrigentum from ſome treacherous attempts that were contrived againſt it by the Syracuſan mercenaries, having made diſcovery of this treaſon likewiſe, informed the Carthaginian commander of it. Imilco preſently called together the other officers; and having partly by his earneſt exhortations and entreaties, and partly alſo by the promiſe of great rewards, engaged them to ſtand firm in the intereſts of the Carthaginians, he ſent them to confirm the troops in their fidelity. To the Gauls he deputed likewiſe Annibal, who had long ſerved among them. He was the ſon of

that

that Annibal, who loſt his life in Sardinia. To the other mercenaries he ſent Alexo, who was held in high eſteem and credit by them. Theſe Generals having aſſembled all the troops, and harangued them as the time required, and having engaged their own aſſurance for the payment of thoſe rewards that were now promiſed by Imilco, prevailed with little difficulty, and checked all their inclination to revolt. When thoſe therefore who had left the city were returned, and began to propoſe aloud the terms which they had brought, the garriſon were ſo far from embracing the conditions, that they even refuſed to hear them; and with ſtones and javelins drove back the traitors from the walls. Thus were the Carthaginians brought to the very brink of ruin by the treaſon of their mercenaries; and in this manner were they reſcued by Alexo: whoſe virtue, as we have obſerved, had once before afforded the means of ſafety to the Agrigentines upon a like occaſion, and preſerved to them their city, liberties, and laws.

CHAP. IV.

DUring this time, no accounts had been received at Carthage of any thing that paſſed at Lilybæum. But being perſuaded that the beſieged muſt certainly be in want of ſome relief, they filled fifty ſhips with ſoldiers, and ſent them away under the command of Annibal the Son of Amilcar, who was General of the Triremes, and an intimate friend of Adherbal. They exhorted him to uſe the greateſt diligence, to take advantage of the firſt favourable moment, and to make ſome bold attempt to enter the city with his ſuccours. Annibal ſoon ſailed out to ſea, with all the forces, which amounted to ten thouſand men; and caſting anchor at Æguſa, between Carthage and Lilybæum, waited for a freſh and favourable wind. As ſoon as it began to blow, he ſpread all his ſails, and ſteered his courſe directly towards the harbour's

bour's mouth; the troops being ranged in order upon the decks, and ready to engage. The Romans, ſurprized by an attempt ſo bold and unexpected, and being apprehenſive alſo, that their own veſſels might be carried into the harbour by the wind together with thoſe of the enemy, ſtood fixed in wonder and aſtoniſhment, and made no reſiſtance to the entrance of the Carthaginians. The multitude within the city ran together in crouds upon the walls; anxious for the event, but filled with joy at the ſight of theſe unexpected ſuccours, which they now invited and encouraged by the loudeſt cries and ſhouts. At laſt the Carthaginians gained the port, and ſafely diſembarked their forces, without any oppoſition from the Romans: a circumſtance which afforded greater pleaſure to the Lilybæans, than even the arrival of the troops themſelves; though theſe were then ſo neceſſary to their affairs, and ſo greatly increaſed both their ſtrength and hopes.

When Imilco ſaw, that both the former forces of the city, and thoſe that were now arrived, were animated to a high degree of alacrity and confidence; the firſt, on account of the relief which they had received; the latter, becauſe they had yet encountered with no hardſhips; he reſolved to take advantage of their preſent ardour, and endeavour to ſet fire to the Roman Works. He therefore called all the troops together; and having harangued them in ſuch words as his deſign required, and promiſed great rewards to thoſe that ſhould perform any eminent and ſignal ſervice, beſides the gifts and honours which they might all expect in common from the State of Carthage, he raiſed their minds to ſuch a point of courage and impatience, that they all with one voice cried out, that he ſhould lead them againſt the enemy without delay. The General applauded their good diſpoſition, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly: having exhorted them to retire betimes to their repoſe, and hold themſelves in readineſs to execute the orders of their leaders. He then called together the chief among the officers;

officers; aſſigned to each his ſeveral poſt; acquainted them with the time, and ſignal, of engaging; and directed them to attend in the appointed places, with their reſpective Companies, by break of day.

Theſe orders being carefully obſerved, the General at break of day led out his army, and fell upon the Works in different quarters. But the Romans, who for ſome time before had expected this attempt, and had neglected no precaution, were now ready with their ſuccours wherever they were moſt required, and vigorouſly oppoſed the enemy. The engagement ſoon became general; and was maintained on both ſides with the greateſt obſtinacy. For the numbers from the city amounted to twenty thouſand men: on the part of the Romans, they were greater. And as the ſoldiers fought without regarding any order, every one in the place to which his inclination led him, the battle was on that account more fierce and terrible. For man with man, and rank with rank, engaged with all the fury and jealous emulation, that are found in ſingle combats. But the clamour was far the loudeſt round the Works; and the diſpute moſt cloſe and obſtinate. For thoſe whoſe taſk it was to ruin and deſtroy them, and thoſe who on the other ſide were poſted there for their defence, maintained the fight together with ſo much ſteadineſs and ardour, that while the one ſtill laboured to advance, the other ſtill refuſing to give ground, it happened in the end, that both were alike deſtroyed in the places where they had begun the combat. But there were ſome among them, who, with flaming torches in their hands, invaded the Machines with ſo much force and fury, that the Romans, unable to repel their efforts, were reduced to great extremity. But the Carthaginian General, perceiving that his troops were deſtroyed in heaps, and that he had not yet been able to accompliſh his deſign, commanded the trumpets to ſound the ſignal of retreat, and called the ſoldiers from the engagement. Thus the Romans preſerved

ſerved their Works intire; even in the very moment, when they were juſt upon the point of being utterly deſtroyed.

After this action, Annibal, leaving the harbour in the night, ſailed out to ſea with all the fleet, undiſcovered by the enemy, and joined Adherbal, who lay at Drepanum. This town is diſtant from Lilybæum about a hundred and twenty ſtadia; and both on account of it's commodious ſituation, as well as for the excellence of the harbour, had always been conſidered by the Carthaginians as a place of the laſt importance, and was guarded by them with the greateſt care.

At Carthage, the people were impatient to be informed from time to time of all that paſſed at Lilybæum; but knew not any method, by which their wiſhes could be ſatisfied. For the beſieged were cloſely confined within their walls; and the port as cloſely guarded by the Romans. But a certain man of rank among them, Annibal ſurnamed the Rhodian, engaged to ſail into the harbour, and when he had ſeen the condition of the city, to return again to Carthage, with an account of all that they deſired to know. His offer was received with joy, though the ſucceſs was greatly doubted. But Annibal, having equipped a veſſel of his own that was proper for his purpoſe, ſailed and caſt anchor near one of the iſlands that lie oppoſite to Lilybæum: and on the morrow, taking advantage of a briſk and favourable wind, ſteered his courſe through the midſt of all the enemy, who ſtood aſtoniſhed at his boldneſs, gained the harbour, and prepared to return again on the following day. The Conſul, more effectually to guard the entrance of the port, got ready in the night ten of his ſwifteſt ſhips; and himſelf with all the forces ſtood attentive to the motions of the Rhodian. The ten ſhips were ſtationed on both ſides of the harbour's mouth, as near to it as the ſhallows would permit: their oars being ſuſpended in the air, and ready to bear them in an inſtant down upon the Carthaginian veſſel. But the Rhodian, ſteering out of the port in the

the ſight of all, inſulting and embarraſſing the enemy both by his boldneſs and agility in ſailing, not only eſcaped unhurt through the midſt of the Roman ſhips, which ſeemed to ſtand with deſign to let him paſs; but when he had gained a little diſtance, he turned about again, and reſting upon his oars, challenged the enemy to engage him. And when none dared to advance, by reaſon of the lightneſs and celerity of his veſſel, he at laſt retired; having in one ſingle Galley inſulted and defied the whole Roman fleet. After this time, he went and returned continually, as often as occaſion required; and rendered no ſmall ſervice both to the Carthaginians and the beſieged. For as the firſt were by this contrivance punctually informed of all that was neceſſary to be known; ſo the latter were encouraged ſtill to ſuſtain the ſiege: while the Romans, on the other hand, were much diſheartened. The Rhodian was encouraged chiefly in this bold attempt, by his perfect knowledge of the coaſt; which taught him in what manner he might beſt avoid the banks of ſand that lay at the entrance of the harbour. For this purpoſe having firſt gained the open ſea, he from thence held on his courſe as if he had ſailed from Italy: taking care to keep a certain Tower, that ſtood upon the ſhore, in a line ſo direct and even with his Prow, that it covered from his view the other Towers, which looked towards the coaſt of Afric. And this indeed is the only route, by which a veſſel, ſailing before the wind, can gain the port in ſafety.

The example of the Rhodian was in a ſhort time followed by many others, who like him were well acquainted with the proper courſe of ſailing. The Romans therefore, who were greatly incommoded by this proceeding, endeavoured to prevent it for the time to come, by choaking up the mouth of the harbour. But this was a taſk too difficult to be completed. For as the ſea was very deep, the materials that were thrown into it would neither reſt, nor hold together; but were preſently diſ-

ſolved and waſhed away by the tides and torrents, even before they had gained the bottom. In one place however more ſhallow than the reſt, they at laſt threw up a Mole, after much pains and labour. A Carthaginian Galley, ſailing out of the port by night, ſtruck upon it, and was taken. As this veſſel was built upon the moſt perfect model, the Romans, having equipped it with a ſelect body of men, reſolved to employ it in obſerving thoſe that ſhould hereafter ſteer towards the harbour, and above all the reſt, the Rhodian. It happened, that in a ſhort time afterwards he came in ſight. He had entered the port the night before; and was now returning back again in open day. The Roman Galley purſued with eagerneſs, and attended cloſely to all his motions. The Rhodian ſoon knew the veſſel, and fearing for the event, began to exert his utmoſt efforts to eſcape by flight. But finding that the enemy gained ground upon him, he was at laſt forced to turn, and try the fortune of a battle. The Romans, who were far ſuperior both in the ſtrength and number of their men, obtained an eaſy victory; and being now maſters of this ſhip likewiſe, they fitted it with all things neceſſary: and from this time effectually ſecured againſt the Carthaginians the entrance of the Port.

The beſieged were now employed without remiſſion in repairing the breaches of their walls: but had thrown away all hopes of being able to deſtroy the works of the enemy: when on a ſudden a ſtrong wind aroſe, and blew with ſo much violence that it ſhook the Roman Galleries, and threw down the Towers that were built before them for their defence. Some of the Greek mercenaries, having reflected within themſelves, that this conjuncture was highly favourable for ruining all the Works at once, communicated their ſentiments to the General, who readily approved them, and gave immediate orders for the attack. The young men ſallied out in ſeparate bands, and ſet fire to three different quarters. As the buildings, being

old, were eaſily inflammable; and were now ſo looſened likewiſe by the wind, that both the Machines and Towers were ſhifted from their place; the fire ſoon ſpread with great rapidity and force. The Romans were ſtruck with conſternation, and knew not in what manner they might beſt reſiſt the impending ruin. Terrified by an attack ſo unexpected, and blinded by the ſmoak and darkneſs, and ſparks of fire, that rolled continually towards them, they neither ſaw nor comprehended any thing that paſſed: ſo that great numbers fell, without being able even to come near the fire. The more the Romans were incommoded, the greater alſo were the advantages of the enemy. For while the wind ſtill blew againſt the faces of the former whatever could annoy or hurt their ſight, the latter, who ſaw clear before them, were able to direct their aim with certainty both againſt the machines and combatants; the wind alſo driving forwards every thing that was thrown, and giving greater ſtrength and efficacy to the ſtroke. In the end the deſtruction was ſo complete, that the Towers were all conſumed to their foundations, and the heads of the battering rams melted in the fire. After this great loſs, the Romans laid aſide all thoughts of being able to reduce the place by their works: and having thrown up an intrenchment round the city, and fortified their camp alſo with a wall, they committed the event to time. The Lilybæans on their part repaired their breaches; and reſolved to expect with patience the determination of the ſiege.

As ſoon as they heard at Rome the news of this misfortune, and that the greater part of their naval forces had been deſtroyed, either in defending the works againſt the enemy, or in the former buſineſs of the ſiege, they immediately raiſed new levies, which amounted to ten thouſand men, and ſent them away to Sicily. When they arrived in the camp, the Conſul P. Claudius aſſembled all the Tribunes, and repreſented to them, that they ought to ſeize the preſent moment,

and ſail away immediately to Drepanum: "where Adherbal, continued he, lies unprepared, and ſuſpecting nothing; is unacquainted with the arrival of theſe new levies; and perſuaded that our loſſes in the ſiege have diſabled us from ſending out a fleet to ſea." As this deſign was readily approved, he ordered the ſailors immediately to embark; both thoſe that were in the camp before, and thoſe that had lately landed; and added to them ſome of the braveſt ſoldiers from the legions, who were tempted by the ſhortneſs of the voyage, and the proſpect of aſſured ſucceſs, to make a voluntary offer of their ſervice in the expedition. When all his preparations were completed, about midnight he began the voyage, undiſcovered by the enemy; and keeping the iſland on his right, ſailed in cloſe order along the ſhore. As ſoon as it was morning, and the foremoſt ſhips had arrived in ſight of Drepanum, Adherbal, who had no expectation of this accident, was at firſt under great ſurprize. But when he had viewed them more attentively, and perceived that they were the Roman fleet, he reſolved to exert his utmoſt efforts, rather than ſubmit to be inveſted in the place. Having aſſembled therefore all the naval forces upon the ſhore, and called the mercenaries from the city, he ſhewed them in a ſhort harangue with how great eaſe they might obtain the victory, if they had courage to engage the Roman fleet; and repreſented to them, on the other hand, all the miſeries of a ſiege, to which, if they now declined the combat, they muſt inevitably be expoſed. They all cried out at once, and demanded to be led againſt the enemy without delay. Adherbal commended their alacrity, and ordered them immediately to get on board; to obſerve the motions of his ſhip; and to follow cloſe behind, in the courſe which they ſhould ſee him take. He then ſailed away the firſt, and ſteered his veſſel along the rocks that lay oppoſite to that ſide of the harbour by which the enemy deſigned to enter. When the Conſul ſaw that the Carthaginians were ſo far

far from being ſtruck by his arrival, and ſurrendering to him as he had before expected, that on the contrary they were making all things ready for the combat, he ordered all his veſſels to turn about again, when ſome of them were already within the harbour, others in the entrance, and the reſt making ſail that way. The ſhips that had gained the port, as they directed their courſe back again, fell againſt thoſe that were now juſt entering, broke their oars, and occaſioned great diſorder. As faſt however as they returned, the officers ranged them all in a line along the ſhore, with their prows turned towards the enemy. The Conſul Publius, who at firſt had followed in the rear, was now carried out to ſea, and took his ſtation in the left wing of the fleet. But Adherbal, having paſſed this wing with five of his largeſt veſſels, and gained the open ſea, turned his prow towards the enemy. The reſt of his ſhips, as faſt as they came up, received orders to extend themſelves in the ſame ſingle line. As ſoon as they were all ranged in front, he gave the ſignal to engage, and advanced againſt the Romans, who ſtill ſtood cloſe along the ſhore, in order to receive their ſhips as they ſailed back again from the harbour. But to this ſituation were chiefly owing the loſſes which they afterwards ſuſtained. When the fleets were joined, the conteſt was for ſome time equal; being maintained on either ſide by the choiceſt of the legionary troops. But by degrees the Carthaginians drew the victory to their ſide, by the help of many favourable circumſtances in which they were ſuperior to the Romans during the whole engagement. Their veſſels were light, and ſwift in ſailing: their rowers ſkilful and experienced: and laſtly, they derived no ſmall advantage from having ranged their fleet in battle on the ſide of the open ſea. Whenever they were cloſely preſſed, as they had full room to retreat, ſo were they able alſo by their ſwiftneſs to tranſport themſelves at once out of the reach of danger. If the enemy advanced too far in the purſuit, they then turned ſuddenly

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upon them, and making their attack with vigour and agility, now upon the ſides, and ſometimes on the ſtern, ſunk many of the Roman veſſels, which being unwieldy by their bulk, and incumbered with unſkilful rowers, performed all their motions heavily and without ſucceſs. When any of their veſſels ſeemed ready to be maſtered by the enemy, they advanced ſecurely through the open ſea, and by ranging ſome freſh Gallies in the ſtern of thoſe that were engaged, reſcued their friends from danger. But on the part of the Romans, every circumſtance was contrary to theſe. When preſſed, they had no room to retreat: for every veſſel, that retired before the enemy, either ſtuck faſt upon the ſands, or was daſhed againſt the ſhore. As their ſhips were alſo heavy, and their rowers deſtitute of ſkill, they were quite deprived of the advantage, the greateſt that is known in naval battles, of ſailing through the ſquadron of the enemy, and attacking in ſtern the ſhips that were already engaged with others. Nor could they on the other hand ſend any ſuccours, or ſupport their own veſſels from behind, as the diſtance was ſo narrow between them and the land. Such were the diſadvantages under which the Romans laboured, through the whole engagement. Many of their veſſels therefore were broken againſt the ſhore; and many ſtuck faſt upon the ſands. The Conſul, with about thirty only that ſtood with him upon the left, withdrew from the engagement, and directed his flight along the coaſt. The remaining ſhips, in number ninety-three, fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, together with all the men; a ſmall number only excepted, who forced their veſſels cloſe to ſhore, and eſcaped the danger.

Thus ended the engagement; from whence the Carthaginian General reaped, among his countrymen, all the applauſe and honour that were due to his brave and ſkilful conduct: while the Romans on the contrary purſued with curſes and invectives the Conſul Publius, whoſe raſh imprudence had brought

brought ſuch heavy loſſes upon his country, and, after his return to Rome, condemned him by a publick ſentence to the payment of a heavy Fine.

The Romans, notwithſtanding this defeat, were ſo fixed in their deſign to conquer, that they continued all their preparations for the war with the ſame ardour as before; and when the election of their Magiſtrates was paſt, ſent L. Junius, one of the Conſuls, into Sicily, with a convoy of ſixty ſhips, to carry corn and other neceſſary ſtores to the army that inveſted Lilybæum. Junius arriving at Meſſana, and having there received ſome veſſels that came to join him, both from the camp and from the other parts of the iſland, ſailed ſoon afterwards to Syracuſe. His whole fleet now conſiſted of a hundred and twenty ſhips of war, beſides eight hundred tranſports. Having given the half of theſe, together with a ſmall part of the former, to the Quæſtors, he ordered them to ſail with the proviſions to the camp: while himſelf ſtaid behind at Syracuſe, to receive the ſhips that were not able to attend him from Meſſana, and to collect the corn which the allies from the inland parts of Sicily were obliged to furniſh.

About the ſame time Adherbal, when he had ſent to Carthage the priſoners and all the veſſels that were taken in the laſt engagement, joined thirty of his own ſhips to ſeventy others that were under the command of Carthalo, and gave orders to that General, to go and fall ſuddenly upon the Roman fleet which lay at anchor in the port of Lilybæum, to bring away as many of their ſhips as he could get into his hands, and to burn the reſt. Carthalo, having received this commiſſion, ſteered his courſe towards the harbour; and entering it before break of day, he ſet fire to one part of the fleet, and made himſelf maſter of the reſt. This accident occaſioned no ſmall diſorder in the Roman camp. For while the ſoldiers ran together with loud cries from every quarter,

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to ſuccour and ſave their fleet, Imilco, who commanded in the Town, perceiving what was done, ſallied out upon them with the mercenaries. Thus were they ſurrounded by danger on every ſide, and their conſternation became complete.

The Carthaginian General, having taken one part of the veſſels, and deſtroyed the reſt, the whole amounting to no very conſiderable number, ſteered his courſe from Lilybæum towards Heraclea, with deſign to intercept the fleet that was ſailing to the camp from Syracuſe. Elated by his paſt ſucceſs, he no ſooner was informed by the ſcouts whom he had ſent before, that the Roman fleet, compoſed of a great number of ſhips of every kind, was arrived almoſt in ſight, than he advanced in haſte to meet them. The Romans having received notice likewiſe of his approach, from the frigates that ſailed at the head of all their ſquadron, and thinking it unſafe in their preſent circumſtances to venture on a battle, directed their courſe towards a little town, that owned their juriſdiction; where, though there was indeed no harbour, certain creeks, that were incloſed on every ſide by a kind of promontories which ran out into the ſea, afforded a convenient ſhelter for their fleet. Having here diſembarked their forces, and diſpoſed in order ſome Catapults and Baliſtæ which the town ſupplied, they waited the arrival of the enemy. The Carthaginians, as ſoon as they approached, made haſte to begin the combat: being perſuaded that the Romans, upon the firſt attack, would abandon all their veſſels, and take refuge in the town. But when their expectations were ſo far from being anſwered, that on the contrary they found a vigorous and ſtout reſiſtance, and as the place was alſo in all reſpects diſadvantageous to them, they were at laſt obliged to retire from the engagement, carrying with them a ſmall number of the tranſports only: and ſailing to the mouth of a certain river that was near, they caſt anchor there, and reſolved to wait for the departure of the Roman fleet.

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The Conſul Junius, having now tranſacted his affairs at Syracuſe, doubled the promontory Pachynus, and was ſteering his courſe to Lilybæum, ignorant of all that had happened to the Quæſtors. The Carthaginian General, being informed by his ſcouts of their approach, ſailed out to ſea with the greateſt haſte, deſigning to engage them before they could be joined by the other fleet. The Conſul ſaw that the enemy approached faſt towards him, and that their fleet was very numerous. Being unwilling therefore to venture on a battle againſt ſo great a force, and not able on the other hand to fly becauſe they were ſo near, he caſt anchor upon a rough and dangerous part of the coaſt; and reſolved to ſuffer every thing that might there befal him, rather than deliver up his ſhips and all his forces to the enemy. The Carthaginians, not daring to riſk a combat in places ſo unſafe, caſt anchor alſo near a certain promontory, which lay between the Roman fleets, and from thence obſerved their motions.

About this time a moſt dreadful tempeſt was juſt ready to break upon the ſea. The Carthaginian Pilots, who from their long experience, and their knowledge of the coaſts, were able to foreſee ſuch accidents before they happened, adviſed the Commander to double the Cape Pachynus without delay, and ſhelter himſelf from the impending ſtorm. The General wiſely yielded to this advice; and having paſſed the promontory, though not without the greateſt pains and difficulty, caſt anchor in a place of ſafety. But when the ſtorm came on, the Roman fleets, being quite deſtitute of ſhelter, and far removed from any harbour, were both ſo miſerably wrecked and broken, that the account almoſt exceeds belief. For ſo complete was the deſtruction, that ſcarcely a ſingle plank remained intire. This accident gave new life and hopes to the Carthaginians: for the whole naval ſtrength of Rome, which had already been greatly weakened by repeated loſſes, was now all at once deſtroyed. The Romans indeed were ſtill ſuperior in

their armies. But on the other hand, the Carthaginians were ſole maſters of the ſea; and their affairs by land were by no means deſperate.

This great misfortune raiſed a general grief and conſternation, both at Rome, and among the troops that inveſted Lilybæum. The ſiege however of this city was ſtill preſſed as cloſely as before; while all the neceſſary ſtores were carefully ſupplied by the allies, and ſent by land into the camp. The Conſul Junius, who had eſcaped the ſtorm, returned to the camp full of grief, and reſolved to repair, if poſſible, by ſome ſignal and important action, the loſs that he had ſuſtained by ſea. With this deſign, having conceived ſome hopes of taking Eryx by ſurprize, he ſo well improved the ſlight occaſion that was offered, that he became maſter both of the city and of the temple of Venus that was near it. The mountain Eryx is ſituated on that part of the Sicilian coaſt which looks towards Italy, between Drepanum and Panormus; but lies neareſt to the former of theſe cities, and is moſt difficult of acceſs on that ſide. It is the largeſt of all the mountains of Sicily, Ætna alone excepted. On the top of it, which is a level plain, ſtands a temple dedicated to Erycinian Venus; which in ſplendour, wealth, and beauty, is acknowledged to be far ſuperior to all the other temples of the iſland. Below the ſummit lies the town; the aſcent to which is long and difficult. The Conſul having placed ſome troops upon the top, and on the road that led to Drepanum, deſigned to act chiefly on the defenſive, and was perſuaded, that by guarding carefully theſe two poſts, he ſhould be able to keep poſſeſſion both of the town and all the mountain.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

AFter theſe tranſactions, the Carthaginians appointed Amilcar, ſurnamed Barcas, to be their General in chief; and gave to him alſo the command of all the fleet. This was now the eighteenth year of the war. Amilcar, having drawn together the naval forces, ſailed away to plunder the coaſt of Italy. When he had waſted all the lands of the Brutii and the Locrians, he then ſteered his courſe with the whole fleet to Sicily; and incamped in a certain place upon the coaſt, between Eryx and Panormus, whoſe ſituation was in all reſpects ſo advantageous, that an army no where could be lodged with more convenience or ſecurity. It was a rough and craggy mountain, riſing from the plain to a conſiderable height, whoſe top was more than a hundred ſtadia in circumference. The lands beneath the ſummit were rich in huſbandry and paſture; refreſhed by wholeſome breezes from the ſea; and not infeſted by any noxious beaſt. On every ſide ſtood precipices, not eaſy to be ſurmounted: and the ſpace between them was ſo ſtrait and narrow, that no great force was required to guard it. There was beſides an eminence upon the very top of the mountain, from whence, as from a watch-tower, every thing might be diſcerned that was tranſacted in the plain below. The harbour that was near it was deep and ſpacious, and lay commodious for all veſſels, that were ſailing towards Italy from Drepanum or Lilybæum. There were three ways only of approaching this mountain; two on the ſide of the land, and the other towards the ſea. In this poſt it was, that Amilcar had the boldneſs to incamp: throwing himſelf into the very middle of his enemies; having no confederated city near him; nor any hopes of ſuccour beyond his own army. Yet even in this ſituation, he contrived to engage the Romans in many deſperate conteſts, and diſ-

treſſed them by continual alarms. Sometimes he ſailed out with his fleet, and waſted all the coaſt of Italy as far as Cumæ. And afterwards, while the Romans lay incamped within five ſtadia of his army, in the diſtrict of Panormus, he waged againſt them, during the courſe of three whole years, an almoſt infinite variety of battles, which cannot particularly be deſcribed. For as in the publick Games, when two Champions of diſtinguiſhed bravery and ſtrength contend together for the prize, the ſtrokes on either ſide fall ſo cloſe and frequent, that neither the ſpectators, nor the combatants themſelves, are able preciſely to remark the direction, ſcope, and force of every ſingle blow, though it be no hard thing to form a judgement upon the whole of the emulation, ſpirit, ſtrength, and ſkill of thoſe who are thus engaged: ſo in the preſent inſtance, it would neither be an eaſy nor a uſeful taſk, to recount the manner, or the aim, of all the various ſnares, contrivances, attacks, ſurprizes, which both ſides practiſed every day; and from which, if known, the reader never could obtain ſo juſt an apprehenſion of the characters and conduct of the two Commanders, as from ſurveying the whole together, and attending to the final iſſue of the conteſt. In general, every ſtratagem which hiſtory has recorded, every invention which circumſtances could ſuggeſt, or neceſſity require, every attempt to which the moſt impetuous and daring ſpirits could excite them, were all ſeverally embraced and carried into practice. But no action paſſed that was deciſive. For as the forces on both ſides were equal, as their camps were ſtrongly fortified, and at the ſame time ſeparated from each other by a very moderate diſtance, hence it happened that they were every day engaged in partial combats, without performing any thing that was complete or general. Great numbers fell in theſe engagements; but when either ſide were too cloſely preſſed, they preſently retired to their intrenchments; and from thence ſallied out again upon the enemy.

But

But Fortune, like an experienced Judge of Combats, removed theſe champions not long afterwards into a narrower ground, and engaged them in a cloſer and more deſperate fight. For while the Romans guarded Eryx in the manner before mentioned, by poſting ſome troops upon the ſummit, and others at the foot of the mountain, Amilcar found means to gain poſſeſſion of the City that lay between. The Romans on the top, being thus beſieged, maintained their poſt, and encountered, with a moſt amazing fortitude, the dangers to which they were now expoſed. On the other hand, the courage and the firm reſiſtance of the Carthaginians were ſuch as ſcarcely will obtain belief. For it is not eaſy to conceive, by what means they were able to ſuſtain the efforts of the enemy, expoſed as they were to their attacks both from above and from beneath, and having no way by which they could receive ſupplies, except one ſingle paſſage which lay open to them from the ſea. Yet notwithſtanding theſe great difficulties, all the methods, both of art and violence, which eſpecially belong to ſieges, were practiſed in their turn by either party. And when they had exhauſted the whole variety of attacks and combats, and been preſſed by every kind of diſtreſs and miſery, they did not at laſt decline the conteſt through wearineſs or weakneſs, as Fabius has affirmed; but both ſides ſtill remained unyielding and unconquered, till the war was brought by other means to a concluſion, two years after. Such was the condition of the armies, in the neighbourhood of Eryx.

If we ſtop now to make reflection upon the conduct and the various efforts of theſe two Republicks, we may properly enough compare them with thoſe generous and valiant birds, which, when they have fought ſo long together that they are quite diſabled from making any farther uſe of their wings in the engagement, yet retaining ſtill their courage, and exchanging mutual wounds, at laſt unite by a kind of inſtinct in a cloſer combat, and maintain the fight together with their beaks,

beaks, till the one or other of them falls beneath his adverſary's ſtroke. In the ſame manner, the Carthaginians and the Romans, exhauſted by continual expence, and weakened by the miſeries and the loſſes which the war had brought upon them, were now reduced on both ſides to the laſt extremity. But the Romans ſtill maintained their firmneſs: and though they had for five years paſt abandoned all attempts upon the ſea; partly by reaſon of the heavy loſſes which they had there ſuſtained; and partly alſo becauſe they were perſuaded, that their armies upon land would alone be able to give a favourable iſſue to the war; yet when they found that all their expectations were likely to be fruſtrated, by the vigorous and intrepid conduct of Amilcar, they reſolved for the third time to make trial of a naval armament; conceiving it to be now the only kind of force, which, if conducted with dexterity and prudence, would end the war upon ſuch conditions as their intereſt and their hopes required. Nor were they indeed deceived in the event. They had twice before, as we have ſaid, been forced to abandon all attempts upon the ſea: once, by the ſhipwreck of their fleets, and afterwards, by the loſs which they ſuſtained in the fight of Drepanum. But having now once more reſumed the ſame deſign, and gained the victory in one naval battle, they deprived the Carthaginian troops that were in Eryx of the means of receiving any farther ſupplies or ſuccours from the ſea, and thus gave a full determination to the war. This reſolution was wholly the effect of that ſtrong and ardent zeal with which the Romans then were animated. For the Treaſury afforded no ſupplies that were ſufficient for the undertaking. But the generous ſentiments and ſpirit of the chief among the citizens, and their earneſt love of the Republick, enabled them to carry it into execution. For each particular man, or two or three together, in proportion to their wealth, engaged to provide a Quinquereme completely fitted and equipped; on condition only

of

of being reimburſed, in caſe that the deſign ſhould be attended with ſucceſs. By this method they brought together a fleet of two hundred Quinqueremes, which were all built upon the model of that veſſel that was taken from the Rhodian. With this new armament, the Conſul C. Lutatius, in the beginning of the ſummer, ſailed out to ſea; and appearing ſuddenly upon the coaſt of Sicily, gained poſſeſſion of the ports and bays of Drepanum and Lilybæum without reſiſtance. For the enemy had ſailed back to Carthage with their fleet ſome time before. The Conſul advanced his Works againſt the town of Drepanum, and began to preſs the ſiege with vigour. But being at the ſame time ſenſible, that the Carthaginian fleet would ſoon return, and keeping always in his mind the chief deſign and purpoſe of the expedition, which was to end the war at once by a naval victory, he ſuffered no moment to be loſt, but employed the ſailors in ſuch conſtant taſks and exerciſes as might beſt conduce to that deſign; and by training them in all the parts of naval diſcipline, he rendered them in a ſhort time hardy and expert, and completely prepared for action.

The Carthaginians heard with great aſtoniſhment, that the Romans again appeared at ſea. They immediately got ready their fleet; and being deſirous to ſupply in the ampleſt manner the wants of the troops that were at Eryx, they filled their veſſels with proviſions and other ſtores, and ſent them away under the command of Hanno; who ſailed and caſt anchor at the iſland Hiera. His intention was, to arrive at Eryx undiſcovered by the Romans; and when he had eaſed his ſhips of their heavy lading, and taken on board a ſufficient number of the choiceſt troops, together with Amilcar, to ſail back and engage the enemy. But the Roman Conſul, informed of the motions of this fleet, and penetrating alſo into the views of Hanno, ſelected all the braveſt of the legions, and ſailed to Æguſa, an iſland that lay oppoſite to Lilybæum. He there

harangued his forces, as the time required; and acquainted the Pilots, that he ſhould next day offer battle to the Carthaginians. But when the morning came, obſerving that the wind blew ſtrong, and favourable to the enemy, but contrary to the courſe which himſelf was obliged to ſteer, and that the ſea was rough and turbulent, he was for ſome time in doubt what reſolution he ſhould take. But when he had reflected within himſelf, that if he ſhould now engage, notwithſtanding all the roughneſs of the ſeaſon, the conteſt would only be with Hanno and the naval forces, and with ſhips that were heavy and incumbered; but that, if by waiting till the ſea was calm he ſhould ſuffer the enemy to paſs and join the camp, he muſt then be forced to encounter with troops ſelected from the army, with ſhips which would be light and eaſy in their motions, and above all the reſt, with the bold and daring ſpirit of Amilcar, who was now become very terrible to the Romans; he at laſt reſolved to ſeize the occaſion, and to venture on a battle. As the enemy were ſailing full before the wind, he made haſte to get out to ſea. The rowers, ſtrong and dextrous, broke with eaſe the force of the wind and waves; and the veſſels ſoon were ranged in a ſingle line, with their prows turned towards the enemy. The Carthaginians, being thus intercepted in their courſe, take down their ſails, and, after mutual exhortations, begin the combat. As the condition of the ſeveral fleets was now in all points different from what it had been in the former battle, it was reaſonable to expect, that the event would be alſo different. The Roman fleet was built in a more ſkilful manner than before. Their veſſels were not incumbered with any heavy furniture, except ſuch only as was neceſſary for the fight. Their rowers had been exerciſed with ſo much diligence and care, that they were able to perform the greateſt ſervice. And in the laſt place, their ſoldiers, being all ſelected from the choiceſt of the legions, were men who knew not how to retreat or yield.

But on the ſide of the Carthaginians, all things bore a different face. Their ſhips were burthened with a heavy lading, which rendered them unfit for action. Their ſailors were unpractiſed in their art, and ſuch as had been haſtily thrown together for the preſent voyage: and their troops were new raiſed levies, not yet acquainted with the terrors or the toils of war. For ſo ſtrongly were they aſſured, that the Romans never would appear again upon the ſea, that they had for ſome time paſt neglected all their naval forces. From theſe cauſes then it happened, that they were in every part defeated, even in the firſt encounter. Fifty of their ſhips were ſunk; and ſeventy taken by the Romans, with all the men. But the wind, as if engaged to favour them, turning ſuddenly about in the very moment of their danger, filled all their ſails, and carried the reſt of the fleet ſafe back to Hiera. The Conſul ſteered his courſe to Lilybæum; where his firſt care was to diſpoſe of the captive ſhips and men: a taſk, which gave him no ſmall trouble; for the numbers of the latter amounted to near ten thouſand.

This defeat, however great and unexpected, abated nothing of the former zeal and ardour of the Carthaginians: but they ſaw themſelves at once deprived of all the means by which they could hope to carry on the war. As the enemy were maſters of the ſea, it was now no longer in their power to ſend ſupplies to the troops in Sicily: ſo that being forced, if we may ſo expreſs it, to betray and abandon theſe, they had in truth neither General nor army left, on which they could at all depend. They ſent therefore to Amilcar, and left to his diſcretion the care and management of the whole. The conduct of Amilcar in theſe circumſtances was ſuch as well became an expert and wiſe commander. While any proſpect of ſucceſs remained, or any reaſonable ground of hope, he boldly attempted every thing, how full ſoever of hazard and of danger, that could diſtreſs the enemy; and reſted all his hopes of

victory upon the ſtrength and vigour of his arms, even more than any General that had lived before him. But when the face of affairs was changed, and all probable reſources cut off and loſt, he reſolved no longer to expoſe his troops to danger; but wiſely yielding to the neceſſity of the times, ſent ambaſſadors to the Romans to treat of peace. For the part of a conſummate General is not only to know when to conquer, but when alſo to renounce all hopes of victory.

The Conſul, knowing that the Romans were on their part alſo weary of a war, which ſo greatly had exhauſted the ſtrength of the Republick, embraced the offer with little difficulty; and a Treaty was ſoon afterwards concluded in the following terms.

"There ſhall be Peace between the Carthaginians and the Romans, with the approbation of the Roman People, upon theſe conditions. The Carthaginians ſhall relinquiſh every part of Sicily. They ſhall not make war upon Hiero; nor give any diſturbance to the Syracuſans, or their Allies. They ſhall reſtore without ranſom all the Roman priſoners: and pay a Tribute of two thouſand two hundred Euboic Talents of ſilver, within the courſe of twenty years."

When the conditions were ſent to Rome, the People at firſt refuſed to confirm the Treaty; and deputed ten Commiſſioners, to examine into the ſtate of affairs in perſon. When theſe arrived in Sicily, they made no conſiderable alteration in the whole of what had been agreed: but only added to the Tribute a thouſand Talents more; ſhortened the time allotted for the payment of it; and demanded alſo, that the Carthaginians ſhould retire from all the Iſlands that lay between Sicily and Italy.

Such was the end of the War of Sicily between the Carthaginians and the Romans; when it had continued during the courſe of twenty-four years, without any intermiſſion. A war, the longeſt in its duration, the leaſt interrupted in its progreſs, and

and upon the whole the moſt conſiderable, of any that we find in Hiſtory. For not to mention again the various combats, which have already been recounted, in one naval battle only, which happened in this war, five hundred Quinqueremes were engaged together in action; and in a ſecond, ſcarce fewer than ſeven hundred. The Romans, in the courſe of the war, loſt ſeven hundred Quinqueremes; if we reckon thoſe that were deſtroyed by tempeſts: the Carthaginians, about five hundred. And now let thoſe, who have been accuſtomed to contemplate with ſurprize the naval preparations and engagements of Antigonus, Demetrius, and Ptolemy, let them I ſay conſider, whether the preſent War be not a ſubject far more worthy of their admiration and regard. For if we carefully reflect upon the difference beween theſe Quinqueremes and the Trireme veſſels that were made uſe of by the Perſians in their expeditions againſt the Greeks, and afterwards by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians in all their naval combats, it will very clearly appear, that no State or People ever brought ſo great a force upon the ſea, as thoſe that were engaged in the war before us. From this view of things we may alſo be convinced, that it was by no means an effect of chance or raſhneſs, as the Greeks fooliſhly imagine, that the Romans had afterwards the boldneſs to attempt, as well as the power to reach, the conqueſt of the whole known world: but on the contrary, that having firſt been trained in a courſe of great and important actions, and diſciplined for ſuch an undertaking, they built their project upon very ſolid grounds, and ſuch as gave the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs.

It will perhaps be aſked, from whence it happens that the Romans, in all the preſent greatneſs of their power, and extent of territory, to which they have advanced their empire by the conqueſt of the world, are yet unable to equip ſo many ſhips, or ſend ſuch powerful fleets upon the ſea, as in former times. I ſhall endeavour to give a clear ſolution of this difficulty,

culty, when I come to treat of the conſtitution of the Roman Government: a Subject, which I deſign to examine in its full extent; and which will well deſerve the cloſeſt attention of the reader. For beſides that the matter in itſelf is curious; it has alſo hitherto been but little known, through the fault of thoſe that have attempted to write concerning it. For while ſome of them were themſelves intirely unacquainted with every part of this inquiry, others have purſued it in a manner ſo perplexed and intricate, that no kind of ſatisfaction or advantage can be expected from their labours.

In the preſent war we may remark, that the ſame ardent zeal, the ſame deſigns, the ſame generous perſeverance, and the ſame paſſion for dominion, animated alike both Republicks. The Roman ſoldiers indeed in all points of bravery and ſpirit exceeded thoſe of Carthage. But on the other hand, the Carthaginian General, both in conduct and in courage, was far ſuperior to any of thoſe Commanders that were ſent againſt him. This General was Amilcar ſurnamed Barcas, the Father of Annibal who afterwards waged war with Rome.

Soon after the concluſion of the peace, both nations were involved in the ſame misfortune; and forced to employ their arms to quiet ſome domeſtick troubles. Theſe were raiſed againſt the Romans by the Faliſci; who were reduced however in the courſe of a few days only, and their chief city taken. But the Carthaginians were engaged in a war of much greater moment, againſt their mercenaries, and againſt the Africans and Numidians, who joined in the revolt. A war, which in the progreſs of it filled them with the greateſt terrors and alarms, and threatened even the intire ſubverſion of their State.

It will not be improper or unuſeful, to reſt awhile upon the ſubject of this War, and to recount in few words the chief tranſactions of it. The taſk, for many reaſons, well deſerves our

our pains. For firſt, we may from hence be fully informed of the nature, circumſtances, and whole conduct, of that kind of War which is uſually called, Inexpiable. We ſhall likewiſe learn, from the misfortunes which now happened to the Carthaginians, what foreſight and precaution ſhould be uſed, and what dangers apprehended, by thoſe who employ mercenary troops: and alſo, how great the difference is, between a mixed aſſembly, made up of barbarous and foreign nations, and an army compoſed of thoſe who had been educated in the diſcipline, and trained under the laws and cuſtoms of their country. In the laſt place, the tranſactions of theſe times may ſerve to lead us to the true cauſes of that war which Annibal made afterwards upon the Romans: and enable us to fix with ſome aſſurance what has been hitherto a matter of much diſpute and doubt; not only among Hiſtorians, but even among the parties alſo that were themſelves engaged in the war.

CHAP. VI.

AS ſoon as the treaty was concluded, Amilcar led the army from Eryx to Lilybæum; and there laying down his command, left it to the care of Geſco, the governor of the city, to ſend the forces back to Carthage. Geſco, having ſome kind of foreſight and apprehenſion of what might happen, conducted the affair with great prudence and precaution. He embarked the ſoldiers in ſmall diviſions, and ſent them away at different times; that the Carthaginians might be able to pay them their arrears as they arrived, and ſo diſmiſs them to their ſeveral countries, before the others joined them. This was Geſco's deſign. But the Carthaginians finding that their treaſury was much exhauſted by the late expences of the war, and perſuading themſelves that if the mercenaries were to be drawn together and entertained for ſome time at Carthage,

thage, they might be prevailed on to abate ſome part of the ſtipend that had been promiſed them, admitted them all within the walls as they arrived, and gave them quarters in the city. But when many tumults and diſorders began to grow among them, and to break out both by night and day, being now in apprehenſion of ſome diſmal conſequences from the licentiouſneſs and inſolence of ſuch a multitude, they were forced to intreat their officers to conduct them to a certain town called Sicca, giving to each a piece of gold for defraying their preſent wants; and to keep them there, till every thing was ready for the payment of their ſtipends, and the reſt of the forces alſo arrived from Sicily. The ſoldiers readily agreed to this propoſal of removing, but deſigned to leave their families and baggage behind at Carthage, as they had hitherto done; eſpecially as they expected to return ſhortly back again to receive their pay. But the Carthaginians, fearing that ſome among them, detained by the careſſes of their wives and children, whom a long abſence had now endeared to them, might altogether refuſe to quit the city, and that others invited by the ſame tender motives, would make frequent occaſions to return, and renew the late diſorders, obliged them, in ſpite of all their wiſhes and inclinations to the contrary, to carry with them their families and all their goods. The troops being arrived at Sicca, began to live according to their own diſcretion, without any controul or rule. They were now fallen at once into a ſtate of eaſe and inactivity, from a courſe of long fatigue and hardſhip: a ſtate, which ought by no means ever to be permitted among mercenary ſoldiers; and which is often of itſelf the principal and only cauſe of ſeditions.

During this time of leiſure, ſome among them began to compute together the arrears that were pretended to be due; accumulating various articles without any ſhew of reaſon, and enlarging the ſum beyond it's juſt amount. Others called to mind

mind the rewards which the Generals had promiſed to their ſervices, in times of extraordinary difficulty and danger. Upon the whole, their expectations were raiſed to ſuch a height, that when the reſt of the forces had joined them, and Hanno, who preſided over the affairs of Afric, being arrived at Sicca, inſtead of giving ſatisfaction to their hopes, began to enlarge upon the bad condition of the Republick, burthened as he ſaid by heavy taxes, and an uncommon ſcarcity of all things, and requeſted them to abate ſome part even of that which was acknowledged to be due, immediately the whole army fell into diſcontent and mutiny. Meetings and cabals were formed, and aſſemblies held continually; ſometimes of the troops apart, according to their ſeveral tribes and countries: and ſometimes of all together in a body: while from the various and diſcordant mixture of different languages and nations, every place was filled with confuſion, noiſe, and tumult.

If the Carthaginians, in filling their armies, as their conſtant cuſtom was, with mercenaries drawn together from different countries, deſigned nothing more than to prevent conſpiracies, and render the authority of their Generals more abſolute and effectual, they may ſeem perhaps in this reſpect to have judged not unreaſonably; for troops of this ſort cannot eaſily unite together in factious counſels. But on the other hand, this practice muſt be allowed to be highly impolitic and raſh, if we conſider how difficult and deſperate a taſk it is, to inſtruct, convince, or ſoften, the minds of an army ſo compoſed, when once their paſſions are inflamed, when hatred and reſentment have taken root among them, and a ſedition is actually begun. Under theſe circumſtances, they are no longer men, but wild beaſts of prey. Their fury will not be confined within the ordinary bounds of human wickedneſs or violence; but breaks out into effects the moſt terrible and monſtrous that are to be found in nature. This was now ex-

perienced by the Carthaginians. Their army was compoſed of Spaniards, Gauls, Ligurians; of ſome from the Baleariс iſlands; of ſpurious Greeks, the greater part of whom were fugitives and ſlaves; but chiefly of Africans. To aſſemble all theſe together, and harangue them with any good effect, was a thing impracticable; unleſs the General had been acquainted with all their different languages. And to addreſs them ſeparately by interpreters, repeating ſtill the ſame thing four or five times over, ſeemed a taſk as difficult as the other, and not more likely to ſucceed. It remained therefore, to engage their officers to employ ſuch intreaties and arguments among them as the occaſion required. And this was the method that was now purſued by Hanno. But it happened, that ſome of theſe underſtood not what was ſaid: while others, ſeeming to conſent to, and approve of the inſtructions that were given them, repeated all things differently to the ſoldiers; ſome through ignorance, and ſome from malice: ſo that ſuſpicion, doubt, diſtruſt, and diſcord reigned through all. They ſuſpected likewiſe, that it was not by accident, but with deliberate deſign, that the Carthaginians had deputed to them a man who was not preſent at any of their ſervices in Sicily; inſtead of ſending any of thoſe Generals, who had been eye-witneſſes of their exploits, and had promiſed them the rewards which they now demanded. At laſt, being fully inflamed againſt the Carthaginians, deſpiſing the authority of Hanno, and diſtruſting ſeverally their own officers, they began their march towards the city with all their forces, amounting to more than twenty thouſand men; and incamped at Tunis, which was diſtant from Carthage about a hundred and twenty ſtadia.

The Carthaginians were ſenſible of their imprudence when it was now too late. They had been guilty of one great error, in drawing together to one place ſo large a body of foreign ſoldiers; while the forces that they were able to raiſe at home,

home, were ſuch as could not greatly be depended on, in caſe of any difficult emergency. But it was ſtill more raſh and inconſiderate, to oblige them to take along with them their wives and children, and all their goods; for theſe might have ſerved as hoſtages, by the help of which the Carthaginians might have made the troops at all times tractable and compliant, and purſued in full ſecurity ſuch meaſures as their intereſt required.

In conſequence of theſe miſtakes, they now were thrown into ſo great a conſternation, upon the near approach of theſe enraged mercenaries, that they ſubmitted to try every expedient that was likely to ſoften their reſentment. They ordered all kinds of proviſions to be conveyed to their camp in great abundance; and there to be ſold, at ſuch prices as the ſoldiers were pleaſed to fix. They ſent continual deputations to them from the ſenate; promiſing to conſent to all their demands, as far as their power would reach. But as this denoted the extreme apprehenſion and diſmay with which the Carthaginians were ſeized, ſo it ſerved only to increaſe the inſolence of the mercenaries. Their demands roſe higher every day. And ſo much were they elated by their paſt exploits in Sicily againſt the Romans, that they began to be perſuaded, that neither the Carthaginians, nor any other people of the world, were able to ſtand againſt them in the field. No ſooner therefore were the ſtipends ſettled upon their own conditions, than they made a new demand of ſome allowance for the horſes which they had loſt in battle. This being likewiſe conſented to, they next inſiſted, that their appointment for proviſions, which was now run into a long arrear, ſhould be adjuſted according to the higheſt price that corn had born during any part of the war. In a word, ſome new pretences were every day ſuggeſted by the ſeditious that were among them; till their demands upon the whole were ſuch as it was not poſſible for the Republick to diſcharge. The Carthaginians however engaged

to ſatisfy them to the utmoſt of their abilities; and at laſt prevailed to have the diſpute referred to one of the Generals under whom they had ſerved in Sicily.

Amilcar Barcas, who was one of theſe, was by no means agreeable to the troops: for as he never had been joined in any of the deputations to them, and had alſo ſhewn ſuch willingneſs and haſte to lay down his command, they conſidered him as in part the cauſe, that ſo little reſpect had been paid to their demands. But Geſco was a man, whom they all regarded with eſteem and favour. He alſo had born command in Sicily; and had, upon all occaſions, ſeemed attentive to their intereſt; but moſt particularly ſo, when he was intruſted with the care of embarking them for Carthage. To his deciſion therefore they readily conſented to refer the whole.

Geſco being furniſhed with ſuch ſums of money as were neceſſary, ſailed away to Tunis. As ſoon as he arrived, he called together firſt the officers, and afterwards the ſoldiers by their ſeveral nations. And having reproved them for the paſt, enlarged upon the ſtate and circumſtances of the preſent times, and above all things recommended to them a better conduct for the time to come; conjuring them to look more favourably upon the Carthaginians, under whoſe pay they had ſo long born arms; he next applied himſelf to diſtribute among the troops, according to their ſeveral countries, the ſtipends that were due.

There was among them a certain Campanian, a fugitive ſlave, named Spendius; who was noted both for an uncommon ſtrength of body, and for a ſpirit in war that was fearleſs and enterpriſing even to raſhneſs. This man, being apprehenſive of falling again into the hands of his maſter, and of being put to death in torture, according to the Roman laws, employed his utmoſt efforts, both by words and actions, to prevent all treaty with the Carthaginians. There was alſo an African, whoſe name was Matho, who was indeed of free

condition, and had ſerved regularly in the army: but having been the chief incendiary in the late commotions, and fearing leſt the puniſhment even of thoſe diſorders which others had committed ſhould fall moſt heavily upon himſelf, he entered eagerly into all the views of Spendius, and reſolved to purſue the ſame deſign. Having therefore aſſembled the Africans apart, he endeavoured to convince them, that as ſoon as the reſt of the troops were ſatisfied, and diſmiſſed to their reſpective countries, they alone would be expoſed to all the vengeance of the Carthaginians; who would not fail to puniſh their revolt, in a manner that ſhould ſtrike a terror into all the ſtates of Afric. Theſe ſuggeſtions increaſed the rage with which they were before inflamed. And becauſe Geſco only diſcharged the ſtipends that were due, but reſerved the allowance for their corn and horſes to a diſtant time, on this ſlight pretence the ſoldiers ran together tumultuouſly in a body. Spendius and Matho harangued the aſſembly, in terms full of the bittereſt accuſations againſt the Carthaginians. Theſe were greedily received, and attended to with pleaſure: but if any other perſons advanced to ſpeak, the multitude, without waiting till they were informed whether their ſentiments were contrary to, or the ſame with thoſe of Spendius, inſtantly fell upon them, and deſtroyed them with ſtones. A great number, as well of officers as private men, loſt their lives in this manner. The ſingle word which they all in common underſtood, was, KILL; for this was now become their conſtant practice: eſpecially in their afternoon aſſemblies, when they were inflamed with wine. At thoſe times, as ſoon as any one began to call out KILL, the attack was made ſo ſuddenly and with ſo much fury from every quarter, that it was not poſſible for any to eſcape, who had fallen within their reach. This fury having in a ſhort time ſilenced all debate, Spendius and Matho were declared Generals.

Amidſt all the madneſs and diſorder, which had now taken poſſeſſion of the camp, Geſco, preferring the ſafety of his country to every other conſideration, and fearing leſt the ſavage fury, with which theſe mercenaries were inflamed, ſhould bring intire deſtruction and ruin upon Carthage, never ceaſed to expoſe himſelf to danger, but tried every remedy which care or vigilance could ſuggeſt: ſometimes addreſſing himſelf to the officers apart; and ſometimes calling together the ſoldiers of each ſeveral nation, and exhorting them to return again to their duty. But it happened, that when the Africans, in one of theſe aſſemblies, were bold and importunate in their clamours for the allowance for proviſions, which they had not yet received, Geſco, in order to check their inſolence, bade them go and demand it of their General Matho. This anſwer inflamed their minds to ſuch a height of fury, that not admitting the leaſt delay, they ran to lay hands upon the money that had been brought from Carthage, and afterwards ſeized Geſco and his company. Spendius and Matho employed all their arts to feed and keep up the rage of the ſoldiers; being perſuaded, that if they could once be drawn to commit ſome violent and deſperate action, a war muſt neceſſarily follow. The attempt ſucceeded: they ſeized the money into their hands; plundered the Carthaginians of their goods and equipage; and having ignominiouſly loaded Geſco and his companions with chains, threw them into priſon; and from this time declared open war againſt the Carthaginians; in defiance of all the laws of juſtice and religion, and of the eſtabliſhed rights of mankind.

Such were the cauſes, and ſuch the beginning of the War againſt the foreign mercenaries, which is uſually called the African War.

When Matho had thus far accompliſhed his deſign, he ſent ambaſſadors to all the cities of Afric, inviting them to join in this attempt, and lend their aſſiſtance towards the recovery of their

their common liberty. The greater part of theſe readily embraced the occaſion, and raiſed large ſupplies both of troops and ſtores. The army then divided itſelf into two ſeparate bodies; and marched to lay ſiege to Utica and Hippo, two cities that had refuſed to join in the revolt.

The Carthaginians were deeply affected by this ſtate of their affairs, which ſeemed to be almoſt deſperate. What their own territory produced, was indeed at all times ſufficient for the common occaſions of the people: but all the publick neceſſities had conſtantly been ſupplied by ſtores and contributions drawn from the African cities; and their battles were always fought by foreign troops. But now theſe reſources not only failed, but were turned againſt them to their deſtruction. The miſery too was more ſeverely felt, becauſe it had happened ſo contrary to all their hopes. Wearied and exhauſted by the length, and cloſe continuance of the war in Sicily, they flattered themſelves that, after the concluſion of the peace, they ſhould be able to enjoy ſome little repoſe and eaſe. But the event proved different: a war was ready to receive them, far greater and more terrible than the other. In the firſt, the only conteſt was for Sicily, againſt the Romans: the latter was a civil and domeſtick war, in which their country, lives, and liberties were all in danger. Beſides this, they had no ſtore of arms, nor any naval force; for their fleets had been all deſtroyed in the late engagements. They had no method of procuring ſupplies; no revenues to ſupport an army; nor ſo much as one ſingle ally or friend, from whom they could expect aſſiſtance. Now were they ſenſible, how much more civil diſſentions are to be dreaded, than a war maintained in a foreign country againſt a foreign enemy. But theſe diſtreſſes were in a great meaſure owing to themſelves. For during the late war, they had treated all the Africans with extreme ſeverity: being perſuaded, that the neceſſities of the times would juſtify their conduct. Upon this pretence, they

they exacted through the country one half of all the annual produce; and impoſed a tribute on the cities, double to what was paid before the war. No favour or remiſſion was ever ſhewn to any, how poor or indigent ſoever. Among the governors of provinces, ſuch as were of a mild and gentle diſpoſition, were held in no eſteem at Carthage: but thoſe were moſt careſſed and honoured, who collected the ampleſt ſtores, and practiſed the greateſt cruelty upon the country. Hanno was one of theſe. A people ſo oppreſſed wanted no perſuaſions to excite them to revolt: a ſingle meſſage was ſufficient. The very women, who had often quietly beheld their huſbands and their children dragged to priſon, when they were unable to diſcharge the tribute, now met together in every city; and having ſolemnly engaged themſelves, not to conceal any part of their goods, they brought together all their ornaments, and threw them into the common treaſure: by which means Spendius and Matho were furniſhed with ſupplies in ſuch abundance, that they not only paid the ſoldiers their arrears, as it had been promiſed them in the beginning of the revolt, but were able alſo from that time to defray all the neceſſary expences of the war. So true it is, that in affairs of government, it is the part of prudence not to confine our views to the exigencies only of the preſent time, but rather to look forwards to the future.

The Carthaginians, though beſet by ſo many evils, made haſte to draw together new troops of mercenaries, and appointed Hanno to be their General; who ſome time before had been ſucceſsful in reducing Hecatompylus, together with the adjacent parts of Afric, to the Carthaginian yoke. They armed likewiſe all the citizens that were of ſufficient age; trained and diſciplined the Cavalry of the city; and refitted what was left them of their fleet; ſome Triremes, a few veſſels of fifty oars, and the largeſt of their boats.

Spendius

Spendius and Matho, being joined by all the Africans, to the amount of ſeventy thouſand, had divided their forces, and were now laying ſiege to Utica and Hippo. They held alſo a ſtrong camp at Tunis: ſo that the Carthaginians were cut off from all communication with exterior Afric. For Carthage is ſituated within a Gulph upon a long tract of land, which bears the form of a Peninſula; being almoſt every way ſurrounded, partly by the ſea, and partly by a lake. The Iſthmus, which connects it with the reſt of Afric, is about twenty-five ſtadia in it's breadth. At a moderate diſtance from the Iſthmus, and on that ſide which is bounded by the ſea, ſtands Utica: on the other ſide, upon the lake, is Tunis. The mercenaries having gained poſſeſſion of theſe two poſts, and thus blocked up the Carthaginians within their walls, made frequent incurſions both by night and day even to the very gates, and filled the city with continual terror and alarms.

Hanno completed all the neceſſary preparations with diligence and dexterity. This indeed was his peculiar talent: but his abilities in the field were wholly contemptible and mean. He wanted penetration to diſcern the proper opportunities of action: and his whole conduct ſhewed him to be deſtitute both of ſkill and ſpirit. For though, upon his firſt march to Utica to relieve the ſiege, he obtained great advantages againſt the enemy, who were ſeized with terror at the number of his elephants, which were not fewer than a hundred; yet ſo far was he from improving this ſucceſs, as he might have done, ſo as to gain a complete and deciſive victory, that, on the contrary, he endangered even the ſafety of thoſe whom he came to ſuccour. He had ordered Catapults and all the train of military engines to be brought to him out of the city: and ſitting down at no great diſtance from the beſiegers, he reſolved to attack their camp. The elephants advanced with ſo much violence, that they ſoon broke through the

the intrenchments; and the mercenaries, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, fled from the camp with the utmoſt precipitation. A great part of them were killed by the beaſts: the reſt eſcaped to an adjoining hill, that was rough and craggy, and covered with woods, and relied upon the ſtrength of the place for their ſecurity. Hanno, who had been always uſed to fight againſt the Africans and Numidians, whoſe cuſtom it is, whenever they are routed, to continue their flight for two or three days together, till they are quite removed from the place of action; Hanno, I ſay, imagining that the war was ended, and all danger paſt, abandoned at once all care both of the ſoldiers and the camp; and retiring into the city, began to ſpend his time in luxury and eaſe. But theſe troops, who ſaved themſelves upon the hill, had been trained under the diſcipline of the bold Amilcar: and during their campaigns in Sicily, had been accuſtomed to retreat before the enemy, even many times in the ſame day, and to return again as often to the charge. When they therefore ſaw, that the General was gone into the city, and that the ſoldiers, through confidence from their late victory, neglected to guard the camp, and were diſperſed up and down without any care or caution, they ſuddenly returned, and marching in cloſe order, forced their way through the intrenchments, killing a great number of the Carthaginians, and conſtraining the reſt to ſave themſelves by a haſty and ignominious flight. They became maſters alſo of the baggage; and of all the military machines, which Hanno had ordered to be brought out of the city, and which were now by that means loſt. But this was not the only inſtance in which this General ſhewed his want of ſenſe. For in a few days after, when the two armies lay incamped very near each other in the neighbourhood of Gorza, though he had twice an opportunity of forcing the enemy to an engagement, and twice alſo of attacking them by ſurprize, yet ſo abſurd

and

and fooliſh was his conduct, that he ſuffered all theſe occaſions to eſcape him.

At laſt the Carthaginians ſeeing that their affairs were ſo ill conducted, made choice of Amilcar Barcas for their General, and intruſted to him the care of the war. The army conſiſted of ſeventy elephants; of ſuch bodies of mercenaries as they had been able to draw together; of ſome deſerters from the enemy; and of the Cavalry and Infantry of the city, which amounted to about ten thouſand men. Amilcar, by the very firſt action which he performed, ſtruck the enemy with inconceivable diſmay and terror, and forced them to raiſe the ſiege of Utica. It was an action equal to the greatneſs of his paſt exploits; and ſuch as fully anſwered the expectations which his country had conceived of him. The manner of it was as follows.

The extremity of the Iſthmus, which joins Carthage to the reſt of Afric, is ſecured by a chain of rough and craggy hills; over which there are roads made by art, which give acceſs to the other ſide. Upon theſe hills Matho had taken care to place a guard, in every part that was commodious for the purpoſe. Every other paſſage from Carthage to the country was obſtructed by the Macar: a deep and rapid river, that was ſcarcely fordable in any part; and which had only one ſingle bridge acroſs it. The mercenaries had built a town upon the bridge, and guarded it with the greateſt care: ſo that it was not poſſible, not only for an army, but even for a ſingle man, to paſs without diſcovery. Amilcar having carefully conſidered all theſe obſtacles, and employed his thoughts on every probable method of ſurmounting them, at laſt put in practice the following expedient. Having obſerved, that as often as certain winds began to blow, the mouth of the river was always filled with ſand, ſo as to afford a firm and eaſy paſſage over it, he made all things ready for his deſign, and waited for the time, without diſcloſing to any one his

intention. The winds blew accordingly: and Amilcar, beginning his march by night with all poſſible ſecrecy, appeared on the other ſide of the river before break of day; to the great aſtoniſhment both of the enemy, and of thoſe that were beſieged in Utica. He then continued his march along the plain, to attack the forces that were ſtationed at the bridge.

When Spendius ſaw what had happened, he made haſte to meet the enemy, at the head of ten thouſand men, from the town upon the bridge. About fifteen thouſand more marched at the ſame time from the camp before Utica, to ſupport the firſt. As ſoon as they were joined, they mutually exhorted each other, and advanced to the fight; imagining that it would be eaſy to ſurround the Carthaginian army, and incloſe them as in a ſnare. Amilcar was marching with the Elephants in front: behind theſe were the light-armed troops and Cavalry: and laſt of all his heavy forces. But when he remarked the impetuoſity, with which the enemy advanced againſt him, he ſuddenly inverted his whole diſpoſition; commanding the troops that were in front, to wheel off and fall behind, and thoſe that were behind, to advance and form the front. The mercenaries, imagining that this motion was the effect of fear, and that the Carthaginians already were preparing to retreat, quitted their ranks, and ran on briſkly to the charge. But no ſooner had the Cavalry faced about again, and come forwards to cover and ſupport the reſt of the forces that were ſtanding in perfect order, than the Africans, aſtoniſhed by a motion which they had not looked for, turned their backs and fled; and fell back upon their own forces in great diſorder. Many were deſtroyed in that confuſion; but the greater part were trodden down in heaps by the Carthaginian Cavalry and Elephants. Upon the whole, about ſix thouſand of them were killed, and two thouſand taken. The reſt eſcaped, ſome to the camp before Utica, and ſome to the town upon the bridge.

Amilcar

Amilcar having thus gained the victory, purſued the enemy to the town; which they abandoned on his firſt approach, and retired to Tunis. He afterwards marched his army through the country; drawing many cities to ſubmiſſion, and reducing many more by force: and by this ſucceſs he reſtored the courage, and raiſed the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen.

But Matho, who was at this time employed in the ſiege of Hippo, adviſed Spendius and Autaritus the General of the Gauls, to follow cloſely after the Carthaginians, and attend to all their motions; taking care only to avoid the plains, by reaſon of the Cavalry and Elephants: and, keeping their route along the ſides of the mountains, to wait their opportunity of falling upon the enemy, whenever they ſhould be engaged in any difficulties. He ſent likewiſe to the cities of Afric and Numidia, to ſollicit new ſupplies; and conjured them not to let paſs the preſent occaſion, ſo favourable for recovering their common liberty. Spendius, taking with him ſix thouſand men from all the different nations that were at Tunis, together with the Gauls, who now amounted to two thouſand only, the reſt having deſerted to the Romans during the ſiege of Eryx, followed the advice of Matho, and marched along the ſides of the hills and mountains, waiting ſtill upon the motions of the Carthaginian army. It happened, that Amilcar lay incamped in a certain plain ſurrounded on every ſide by mountains, when the expected ſuccours alſo arrived from Afric and Numidia, and joined the army of the rebels. This threw the Carthaginians into the greateſt conſternation. The Africans had fixed their camp before them; Spendius with his forces lay on one ſide; and the Numidians were in their rear. The danger was ſo threatening, that there ſeemed to be no way left to eſcape it.

But while things were in this ſituation, a certain Numidian Prince, named Naravaſus, a man of a noble and generous diſ-

poſition, and one whoſe inclinations had always led him to favour the Carthaginians on account of former connections between his family and that people, and who was now the more confirmed in thoſe ſentiments by what he had heard of the great abilities and fame of Amilcar Barcas, conſidered this as a proper time for ſettling an intire and perfect union between himſelf and the Republick. He went therefore to the Carthaginian camp, attended by about a hundred horſemen; and advancing cloſe to the intrenchments, ſtood boldly there, making ſignals with his hand. Amilcar, ſurprized at the appearance, ſent one to inquire his buſineſs. He anſwered, that he deſired a conference with the General. And when Amilcar ſeemed ſtill doubtful and irreſolute, as if ſuſpecting ſome ill deſign, Naravaſus, delivering his horſe and javelins to ſome of the attendants, entered unarmed into the camp; with ſuch an air of confidence and intrepidity, as ſtruck the Carthaginians with aſtoniſhment and awe. They conducted him however to the General; to whom he declared, "that he was attached by inclination to all the Carthaginians, but more particularly ſollicitous to obtain Amilcar's friendſhip: that he was therefore come to enter into treaty with him: to aſſiſt in all his undertakings; and to ſhare in all his councils, without deceit or fraud." The candour and ſincerity that appeared in this diſcourſe, together with the confidence with which the young man had at firſt approached the camp, gave ſo much joy and ſatisfaction to Amilcar, that he not only conſented to admit him as a partner in all his counſels and deſigns, but promiſed alſo with an oath to give him his daughter in marriage, if he continued firm in his alliance with the Carthaginians. The agreement being thus concluded, Naravaſus brought over to the camp the Numidians that were under his command, amounting to two thouſand men.

As ſoon as Amilcar had received this reinforcement, he drew out his army in order of battle. Spendius likewiſe, being

being joined by the Africans, deſcended into the plain, and advanced to engage the enemy. The fight was obſtinate; but the Carthaginians at laſt prevailed. The Elephants performed great ſervice in the action: and Naravaſus ſignalized himſelf above all the army. About ten thouſand of the enemy were killed, and four thouſand taken. Spendius and Autaritus ſaved themſelves by flight. When the action was ended, as many of the priſoners as were willing to ſerve among the Carthaginians, were received into the army: and Amilcar, having ordered the reſt to be brought before him, informed them, that they ſhould now be pardoned for all that was paſt, and be permitted to depart to what place ſoever their ſeveral inclinations led them; but that if ever again they were found in arms againſt the Carthaginians, they muſt then expect to be treated with the laſt ſeverity.

About this time, the mercenaries that were garriſoned in Sardinia, being encouraged by the example of Spendius and Matho, revolted from their duty; and having ſhut up their General Boſtar in the citadel, deſtroyed him and all his countrymen. The Carthaginians ſent Hanno to reduce them with an army. But theſe troops alſo joined the party of the rebels: and Hanno having fallen alive into their hands, was immediately nailed to a croſs. They afterwards put to death all the Carthaginians that were in the place, by new and unuſual tortures. And having ſeized the principal towns, they maintained themſelves by force in the poſſeſſion of the iſland. But ſome time afterwards, when they had engaged in ſome diſputes againſt the people of the country, the latter drove them from the iſland, and forced them to fly to Italy for refuge. In this manner was Sardinia loſt to the Carthaginians: an iſland famous for its ſize, fertility, and number of inhabitants; and ſo fully celebrated on theſe accounts by many writers, that it is not neceſſary to repeat in this place what has already been obſerved and confeſſed by others.

Matho, Spendius, and Autaritus, jealous of the effects of Amilcar's gentle treatment of the priſoners, and fearing leſt the ſoldiers, ſeduced by that ſhew of clemency, ſhould run to embrace the pardon that was offered, reſolved to engage the multitude in ſome horrid and inhuman action, which might render their minds quite furious and implacable towards the Carthaginians. For this purpoſe, having called the troops together, they introduced among them a Courier, as bringing letters from the rebels in Sardinia. The contents of theſe were, to adviſe them to look more carefully after Geſco and his companions, whom they had ſeized at Tunis; for that there were ſome perſons in the camp, who were concerting meaſures with the Carthaginians to ſet them free. Spendius immediately laid hold on this occaſion to harangue the aſſembly. He conjured them to give no credit to the affected lenity of Amilcar: that his intention was not ſo much to ſave the priſoners whom he had taken, as to ſeduce by that ſhew of mercy the whole army into his power, that he might afterwards include them all in one common puniſhment. He exhorted them to guard Geſco with all imaginable care: that the eſcape of a man ſo eminent, and of ſuch abilities in war, would not only make them appear contemptible to the enemy, but might alſo prove the intire ruin of their affairs; ſince if he once ſhould find himſelf at liberty, he would not fail to turn againſt them, and become their moſt formidable enemy. He had ſcarcely ended, when a ſecond Courier entered, as if ſent from Tunis, with letters of the ſame advice and import. Upon this, Autaritus roſe up to ſpeak. He obſerved to them, that they could now have no view of ſafety, but in rejecting every thing that looked towards an accommodation with the Carthaginians: that in proportion as any were ſuſpended in their thoughts by the hopes of pardon, they muſt by conſequence become leſs ſincere and ſteady in the cauſe in which they were engaged. He adviſed them to place their only confidence in

thoſe

thoſe whoſe ſentiments were moſt ſevere and bitter againſt the Carthaginians; and to conſider all beſides as enemies and traitors. In concluſion, he urged it as his opinion, that Geſco, and the reſt that were priſoners with him, ſhould preſently be put to death in torture: and that the ſame treatment ſhould be alſo ſhewn to all the Carthaginians, who ſhould from that time fall into their hands.

Of all the Chiefs, Autaritus was able to make the greateſt impreſſion in theſe aſſemblies, becauſe he had learned to ſpeak in the Punic language; which the long continuance of the war had rendered ſo familiar to the ſoldiers, that they uſed it for the moſt part on all occaſions of common intercourſe and civility. His opinion therefore was received with general acclamations, and aſſented to with eagerneſs. Yet ſome of every nation, moved by the remembrance of the kindneſſes which they had received from Geſco, came forwards in the aſſembly, and began to beg, that at leaſt the torture might be ſpared. As they all ſpoke together, and each in the language of his country, they were not preſently underſtood. But no ſooner was it declared, that they were pleading againſt the puniſhment, and one of the aſſembly had called out, KILL, KILL them all, than they were inſtantly overwhelmed with ſtones by the furious multitude, and their bodies carried off by their companions, as if they had been ſlaughtered by ſome ſavage beaſts. Spendius and the ſoldiers then took Geſco, together with the reſt of the Carthaginian priſoners, in number about ſeven hundred; and having conducted them to a little diſtance without the camp, cut off their hands, beginning firſt with Geſco: the ſame whom they had proclaimed not long before to be their benefactor and their friend, and choſen as the judge of all their wrongs and differences. They afterwards tore away the ſcalp from the heads of theſe unhappy men; and having broken and miſerably mangled all their limbs, caſt them ſtill breathing into a pit together.

The news of this horrible tranſaction affected the Carthaginians with the deepeſt grief. They ordered their Generals Hanno and Amilcar to take ſome ſpeedy and effectual vengeance upon the murtherers of their countrymen. They likewiſe ſent ſome heralds to thoſe impious wretches, deſiring leave to remove their bodies. But the rebels returned for anſwer, that they ſhould from that time ſend neither herald nor ambaſſador to their camp, on pain of their being puniſhed with the ſame cruel death. They alſo made a law for the time to come, by which it was reſolved, that all the Carthaginians that were taken ſhould loſe their lives in torture, and their Allies have firſt their hands cut off, and be then ſent back in that condition to the camp. And this was punctually obſerved and executed.

Whoever makes reflection upon theſe horrid cruelties, will eaſily be convinced, that if the human body is ſometimes invaded by certain corrupt and ulcerous humours, which reſiſt all remedy, the minds of men are alſo not leſs liable to ſome diſorders that prove as obſtinate and fatal. And as in the former caſe, the very medicines which are deſigned to effect a cure, often ſerve only to inflame and irritate the parts to which they are applied, and even quicken the progreſs of the evil; yet on the other hand if the diſeaſe be totally neglected, the corruption ſoon ſpreads itſelf through all the neighbouring parts, infecting every thing within its reach, till the whole body becomes unſound; juſt ſo it happens to the mind, whenever it is tainted with thoſe dark and malignant paſſions, which render man more impious and ſavage even than the beaſts themſelves. If you offer to men in this condition the ſoftening remedies of clemency and pardon, they preſently ſuſpect it to be mere fraud and artifice; their diffidence grows ſtronger, and their averſion to you is more deeply rooted than before. But if you reſiſt their violence, and oppoſe revenge to cruelty, there is then no crime too horrible, no attempt too

too monſtrous for them to engage in. They exult and glory in their impieties, and by degrees diveſt themſelves of every ſentiment and paſſion that diſtinguiſh human nature. It is not to be doubted, but that theſe diſorders are chiefly owing to a bad education, and impure manners; though there are many other cauſes, which may ſometimes aſſiſt to bring them on: among which none is ſo likely to be effectual, as the inſolence and rapaciouſneſs of publick governours. The truth of theſe remarks is evident from all that now paſſed among the mercenaries; and more particularly, from the conduct of their chief commanders.

Amilcar being now in the higheſt degree incenſed againſt the enemy, and finding himſelf too weak to encounter with their unbounded rage and madneſs, invited Hanno to come and join him: hoping by means of their united forces to put a ſpeedy end to the war. And being perſuaded, that nothing leſs than the entire extirpation of theſe wretches could bring the affair to any effectual concluſion, he ordered all thoſe that ſhould fall within the reach of the ſword in battle, to be inſtantly deſtroyed, and ſuch as were at any time brought priſoners, to be caſt alive to the Elephants. The Carthaginians were now beginning to flatter themſelves with better hopes, when on a ſudden their whole proſpect was fatally reverſed. The Generals were no ſooner joined, than they were found to differ from each other in all their ſentiments. And to ſuch a height was this diſſenſion raiſed between them, that they not only neglected every fair occaſion of doing hurt to the enemy, but even expoſed their own troops to frequent attacks and loſſes, by their mutual jealouſies and conteſts. The Carthaginians therefore were forced to ſend orders, that one of them ſhould quit the army; but left it to the troops to make the choice. It happened alſo about the ſame time, that the convoys that were ſailing to the army from Emporia, a place from whence they uſually drew their largeſt ſupplies of corn

and other neceſſaries, were all ſunk in the ocean by a ſtorm. Sardinia likewiſe, which in times of danger or neceſſity had always furniſhed liberally to their wants, was now revolted from them. But the ſevereſt ſtroke of all was the loſs of Utica and Hippo. For among all the African cities, theſe two alone had remained unſhaken in their duty; not only in the beginning of the preſent war, but during the time alſo of Agathocles, and when the Romans invaded Afric: and had, on all occaſions, ſerved and ſupported the Republick with ſingular affection and fidelity. Yet now, they not only embraced the party of the rebels, without any kind of pretext or excuſe, but ſhewed even an uncommon zeal and activity in the cauſe: expreſſing at the ſame time the moſt implacable enmity and hatred againſt the Carthaginians. They ſeized the troops that had been ſent among them for their defence, which were not fewer than five hundred men, and put them all to death, together with their commanders, and caſt them without the walls. Nor would they even grant permiſſion for their bodies to be buried, though this was requeſted by the Carthaginians. This ſituation of affairs ſo much raiſed the hopes of Spendius and Matho, that they reſolved to lay ſiege to Carthage.

Amilcar being joined by Annibal, who was ſent to command in the room of Hanno, whom the army had diſplaced when the differences between the chiefs were referred to their deciſion, marched his troops through the country, endeavouring to cut off all ſupplies from the enemy. In the execution of this deſign, Naravaſus and his Cavalry were of great ſervice to him: as indeed they were upon all occaſions of the war. Such then was the ſtate of the armies in the field.

But the Carthaginians, being thus on every ſide cloſely inveſted by their enemies, were forced to have recourſe to the ſtates that were in alliance with them. Hiero, whoſe attention was fixed upon the war, had all along complied with every thing that was requeſted of him. But at this time eſpecially,

pecially, he applied himſelf to ſerve them with all imaginable zeal: as judging that his intereſt required him, in order to preſerve his own dominions and his alliance with the Romans, to aſſiſt in ſaving the Carthaginians from deſtruction; leſt the conquerors ſhould become too powerful to be controuled in any future projects. In this he certainly was guided by the dictates of good ſenſe and prudence. For theſe conjectures are by no means to be ſlighted: nor ought we ever to permit any growing power to raiſe itſelf to ſuch a degree of ſtrength, as to be able to tear from us without reſiſtance even our natural undiſputed rights.

The Romans alſo punctually obſerved the terms of the late treaty which they had made with Carthage, and eſpouſed their intereſts with zeal. At firſt indeed an accident had happened, which threatened to embroil anew the two Republicks. Some perſons, ſailing from the ports of Italy to Afric, had conveyed ſupplies to the camp of the mercenaries. The Carthaginians ſeized on theſe, who were in number about five hundred, and threw them into priſon. The Romans were greatly offended at this proceeding: but as the men were all immediately releaſed again upon the firſt demand, they were ſo much pleaſed and ſoftened by that compliance, that they not only ſent back all the Carthaginian priſoners that were left from the Sicilian war, but from that time chearfully aſſiſted the Republick with every office of humanity and friendſhip. They gave permiſſion to their merchants to export all kinds of neceſſaries to Carthage; at the ſame time prohibiting them from carrying any to the enemy. They refuſed to invade Sardinia, though invited to it by the mercenaries that had revolted there. And when the inhabitants of Utica offered to put them in poſſeſſion of that city, they rejected the propoſal, and adhered religiouſly to their treaty. By the help of all theſe ſuccours, the Carthaginians were enabled to ſuſtain the ſiege; while Spendius and Matho were themſelves no leſs beſieged: for Amilcar

had intercepted all proviſions from their camp; and at laſt reduced them to ſuch extremity, that they were forced to raiſe the ſiege.

Some time afterwards, theſe Generals, having drawn together the braveſt of their forces, to the number of fifty thouſand, among whom was Zarxas an African with the troops under his command, reſumed their firſt deſign, of following Amilcar cloſe in all his marches, and attending to the motions of his army. Their chief care was, to avoid the plains, from apprehenſions of the Elephants and Cavalry: and to poſſeſs themſelves, before the enemy, of all the mountainous defiles and narrow paſſes. In acts of courage and enterpriſing boldneſs, they ſhewed themſelves to be in no point inferior to the Carthaginians: but their want of ſkill was often fatal to them. Upon this occaſion, the difference was clearly ſeen, between a conduct that is built upon the rules of military ſcience, and an irregular and unſkilful method of making war. For Amilcar would ſometimes contrive to ſeparate ſmall bodies from their army, and like an artful Cheſs-player incloſing them on every ſide, by that means deſtroy them. Sometimes, when his motions ſeemed to promiſe a general engagement, he drew them into ambuſcades of which they had no ſuſpicion. In a word, he was ever ready to attack them both by night and day, when they leaſt expected his approach. Great numbers of them were thus deſtroyed: and as many as were taken alive, were thrown to the Elephants. At laſt, coming upon them by ſurprize, he fixed his camp near them in a place that was very proper for his own forces, but incommodious to the rebels. In this ſituation, not daring to riſk a battle, nor able to eſcape, by reaſon of the intrenchments which Amilcar had extended round them, they were reduced to ſo great extremity by famine, that they were forced to feed upon each other: as if the Deity had deſigned to inflict a puniſhment upon them that might be equal in its horror and impiety

impiety to the crimes which they had committed againſt their fellow-creatures. But if they wanted courage to venture on an engagement, in which they were ſure of being defeated, and expoſed to a cruel puniſhment if taken, they were much leſs able to entertain any thoughts of treaty or accommodation, when they reflected upon their paſt tranſactions. Their only hopes were in the ſuccours which they expected would arrive from Tunis: for with this hope their Chiefs continued ſtill to flatter them. Under this aſſurance, they ſubmitted yet for ſome time longer to practiſe this horrible barbarity againſt each other. But when they had impiouſly devoured all their priſoners and ſlaves, and no ſuccours were arrived, the multitude grew impatient of their miſery, and began to threaten their Chiefs. Spendius therefore, with Autaritus and Zarxas, reſolved to go themſelves to the enemy, and treat of peace. Having firſt diſpatched a herald, and obtained a ſafe conduct, they went accordingly to the Carthaginian camp, and concluded a treaty with Amilcar upon theſe conditions: "That the Carthaginians ſhould chooſe from among the enemy ten perſons, whomſoever they thought proper; and that the reſt ſhould be diſmiſſed, each with his ſingle garment." Amilcar then ſaid, that in conſequence of the treaty, he made choice of thoſe that were there preſent. Thus the Carthaginians got into their power Spendius and Autaritus, and the reſt of their officers of greateſt eminence.

The Africans, who were ignorant of the terms of the treaty, no ſooner found that their Chiefs were made priſoners, than they ran tumultuouſly to arms, in order to reſent the ſuppoſed treachery. But Amilcar ſurrounding them with the Elephants, utterly deſtroyed them all, to the amount of more than forty thouſand men. The place where this action happened was called the SAW; becauſe the figure of it ſomewhat reſembled that inſtrument. By this victory, Amilcar raiſed the hopes of his countrymen a ſecond time, when they had

almoſt begun to deſpair of ſafety. He then marched through the country, with Annibal and Naravaſus: and having received the Africans, who were ready every where to ſubmit, and recovered moſt of the principal towns to their party, they next advanced to lay ſiege to Tunis, into which Matho had retired with all his forces.

Annibal fixed his camp before the city, on that ſide of it which looked towards Carthage; while Amilcar poſted himſelf on the oppoſite ſide. They then took Spendius, and the reſt of the priſoners, and carrying them near the walls, crucified them there, in ſight of the enemy. But Matho, perceiving that Annibal, elated by the paſt ſucceſs, was remiſs and negligent in his poſt, ſallied out upon him, and attacking the intrenchments, killed a great number of the Carthaginians, and forced the reſt to fly out of the camp. All the baggage was loſt, and Annibal himſelf taken priſoner. This laſt was immediately conducted to the croſs of Spendius, and fixed alive upon it; after he had firſt been forced to ſuffer the moſt cruel torments. They killed alſo thirty of the nobleſt Carthaginians round Spendius's body. As if fortune had taken unuſual pains, to afford alternately to either party, the means of retaliating upon the other by the moſt inhuman methods of revenge.

The diſtance of the two camps prevented Amilcar from being informed in time of what had happened. Nor was he able, when he knew it, to ſend any ſuccours, on account of the difficulties of the way that lay between. He therefore immediately decamped, and marching along the Macar, ſat down near the mouth of that river.

The Carthaginians had juſt begun to recover new life, and were entertaining better hopes, when this unhappy affair threw them again into no ſmall dejection and amazement. They did not however neglect the care of their ſafety: but chooſing thirty of the Senators, they ſent them away to Amilcar, toge-

ther with Hanno the former General, and all the citizens that were left of age to bear arms: ſo that this was conſidered as their laſt and only effort. They earneſtly recommended it to the Senators, to uſe all their power to reconcile the Generals, and to engage them to regard only the exigencies of the Republick, and act together with ſuch harmony as the ſtate of affairs required. After many conferences and debates, this was at laſt effected. Hanno and Amilcar were conſtrained to agree in ſentiments; and yielded up their differences to the public good. From this time, all things went proſperouſly for the Carthaginians: who gained continually ſome advantage over the enemy, in a variety of little combats, ambuſcades, purſuits, both in the neighbourhood of Leptis, and in other places; till Matho, finding himſelf ſo greatly harraſſed and diſtreſſed, was determined to engage in a deciſive action. The Carthaginians, on their ſide, ſhewed no leſs eagerneſs. Both parties therefore ſummoned all their allies; recalled their garriſons from the towns; and reſolved to riſk the whole upon a ſingle battle. When all things were ready, the Generals by agreement drew out their forces, and the fight began. The victory was on the ſide of the Carthaginians. The greateſt part of the Africans were killed in the action; the reſt eſcaped to a certain city that was near, but ſurrendered themſelves in a ſhort time after. Matho was taken priſoner. All the parts of Afric ſoon ſubmitted to the conquerors, except the cities of Utica and Hippo: which alone were forced to diſclaim all thoughts of peace, becauſe their paſt behaviour had left them no hopes of pardon. Of ſuch importance is it, in diſſenſions of this kind, to obſerve a moderate conduct, and abſtain from all ſuch exceſſes as are too great for mercy. But no ſooner had Hanno inveſted one of them, and Amilcar the other, than they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. Thus the war, which had threatened intire deſtruction to the Carthaginians, was now ended in reducing all the parts of Afric to their former

mer obedience, and in puniſhing the authors of it: for the Youth of the city, after they had led the priſoners in triumph, inflicted upon Matho and the reſt every kind of indignity and torture that invention could contrive.

Such was the concluſion of the war between the Carthaginians and their mercenaries, after a continuance of three years, and about four months: a war, by far the moſt impious and bloody, of any that we find in Hiſtory.

About this time the Romans, invited, as we have already mentioned, by the mercenaries that had revolted in Sardinia, reſolved to take poſſeſſion of that Iſland. And when the Carthaginians began to ſhew their reſentment of this proceeding, and were preparing to oppoſe by force the rebels that had thus robbed them of their rights, the Romans preſently declared war againſt them; pretending that their preparations were not ſo much deſigned againſt the people of Sardinia, as againſt themſelves. The Carthaginians, who had been juſt before delivered, when they leaſt expected it, from a moſt dreadful war, and were by no means able in their preſent circumſtances to contend againſt the Romans, yielded to the neceſſity of the times; and not only gave up Sardinia, but conſented alſo to pay twelve hundred Talents, rather than be involved in a war, which they were too weak at that time to ſuſtain.

THE

THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

POLYBIUS.

BOOK the Second. CHAP. I.

WE ſhewed in the preceding Book, at what time it was, that the Romans, after they had fully ſettled the affairs of Italy, began firſt to extend their views abroad; the manner in which they paſſed over into Sicily; and the reaſons that induced them to declare war againſt the Carthaginians, in order to drive them from that Iſland. We took notice alſo of the time in which they firſt employed a Naval armament: and recounted all that happened to the two Republicks in the progreſs of the war; in the end of which the Carthaginians were forced to abandon Sicily, and leave to the Romans the ſovereïgnty and poſſeſſion of all the iſland, thoſe parts alone excepted which belonged to Hiero. We next related, in what manner the Carthaginian mercenaries revolted from their duty, and kindled that which was called the African War. We ſaw to how monſtrous a height their impieties were raiſed;

with all the unnatural exceſſes, and dreadful circumſtances that attended them: till the Carthaginians became at laſt ſuperior to their enemies. We now go on, to give a conciſe and general abſtract of the chief events which followed theſe tranſactions, agreeably to our firſt deſign.

As ſoon as the Carthaginians had quieted their domeſtick troubles, they ſent Amilcar Barcas with an army into Spain. Amilcar, taking with him Annibal his ſon, who was then about nine years old, paſſed the Straits between the Pillars of Hercules, and in the courſe of almoſt nine years which he ſpent in that country, greatly extended the dominions of the Republick; reducing many different nations to the Carthaginian yoke, ſome by perſuaſion, and ſome by force; and at laſt ended his life in a manner worthy of his former great exploits. For being engaged in battle with a certain people, diſtinguiſhed by their bravery and ſtrength, and who had brought a very numerous army againſt him into the field, he fell nobly in the action, after he had ſhewn amazing proofs of hardineſs and courage. The Carthaginians made choice of Aſdrubal to ſucceed him; who was General of the Triremes, and nearly allied in blood to Amilcar.

About this time it was, that the Romans prepared to invade Illyria, and for the firſt time ſent their armies into thoſe parts of Europe. An event, which muſt be carefully conſidered and attended to, by thoſe who are inclined to enter into our deſign, and comprehend in it's whole extent the gradual progreſs and advancement of the greatneſs of this Empire. The expedition then owed it's birth to the cauſe which I am going to relate.

Agron, King of Illyria, the ſon of Pleuratus, whoſe forces both by land and ſea were greater than thoſe of any of his predeceſſors, was gained with large ſums of money by Demetrius, the Father of Philip, to ſend relief to the Mydionians, who

who were beſieged by the Ætolians. For when the Ætolians had employed in vain all the methods of perſuaſion, to prevail upon this people to unite themſelves to their Republick, they reſolved to ſubdue them to their laws by force. Having therefore drawn together a numerous army, they inveſted the city, and preſſed it cloſely; employing againſt it all kinds of machines, and every method of attack. When the place, reduced to great extremity, was every day expected to ſurrender, the Prætor of the Ætolians, reflecting that the time was alſo drawing near in which the Magiſtrates were uſually elected, and that his place muſt ſoon be yielded to a ſucceſſor, called together an aſſembly of the people, and repreſented to them, that as he had all along ſuſtained the chief fatigue and burthen of the ſiege, it was highly reaſonable that he alone ſhould poſſeſs the right of diſtributing the ſpoil, and the honour of having his name inſcribed upon the Trophies, whenever the city ſhould be taken. But as this motion was oppoſed by many, and eſpecially by thoſe who had any hopes of gaining the Prætorſhip for themſelves, who inſiſted that no judgement ſhould be given before the event, but the whole be reſerved intire, till they ſhould ſee upon whom fortune intended to beſtow that honour; it was at laſt reſolved, that if the new Magiſtrates ſhould take the city, the Diſtribution of the ſpoil, and the Inſcription of the Trophies ſhould be adjudged to Him in conjunction with the Prætor of the former year.

When the affair was thus determined, and the very following day was the time appointed for the new Prætor to be elected and to enter into his office, according to the cuſtom of the Ætolians; a hundred Barks, having on board five thouſand Illyrians, arrived in the night, and caſt anchor as near the city as was poſſible. At break of day the troops were diſembarked in great haſte and ſilence: and having ranged themſelves in order of battle after the manner of their country,

they marched, divided into cohorts, towards the camp of the enemy. The Ætolians were thrown at firſt into ſome kind of conſternation, by an attempt ſo bold and hardy, and which they had not in the leaſt expected. But that ſpirit of arrogance and haughty fierceneſs, by which this people had been long diſtinguiſhed, and their confidence in the ſtrength and number of their forces, ſoon took place, and in ſome degree diſpelled their fears. They drew up the greater part of the Cavalry, together with the heavy-armed troops, upon the plain before the camp: and having at the ſame time poſſeſſed themſelves of certain eminencies that ſtood commodious for the action, they poſted the reſt of the Cavalry upon them with the light-armed forces. But theſe, being firſt attacked, were not able to ſtand againſt the numbers and cloſe order of the enemy; who diſperſed them with little difficulty, and forced the Cavalry alſo to retreat back to the heavy-armed troops. The Illyrians then came pouring down with violence from the eminencies upon the troops that were drawn up in battle on the plain: and being at the ſame time aſſiſted by the Mydionians from the town, they made their attack with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Ætolians were completely routed. Many of them were killed in the action; and a greater number taken, together with all the arms and baggage. When the Illyrians had thus happily executed the orders of their King, they loaded their veſſels with the ſpoils, and ſteered their courſe back again towards their own country.

The Mydionians, having obtained their ſafety in a manner ſo ſtrange and unexpected, called together an aſſembly of the people, and, among other publick Reſolutions, made alſo a Decree concerning the Inſcription of the Trophies; in which, following the example of the Ætolians, they adjudged it in common to the Prætor that was then in office, and to thoſe who ſhould afterwards be elected to it: as if Fortune had deſigned to give a moſt conſpicuous proof of her power in all human

human affairs, by thus enabling the Mydionians to retort upon their enemies the very act and manner of disgrace, which but a little time before had been decreed against themselves. What happened now to the Ætolians may serve also to instruct us, never to deliberate upon the future as if it were already arrived, nor build any certain expectations on events, which perhaps may take a very contrary turn from what at first they seem to promise; but in all human affairs, and especially in those that relate to war, to leave always some room to fortune, and to accidents which cannot be foreseen.

When the fleet was returned to Illyria, and had given an account to the King of their success, Agron, being overjoyed that his troops had given some check to the insolence and haughty spirit of the Ætolians, indulged himself in feasts and banquets to so great excess, that he was seized with a pleurisy, of which he died in a few days after. His wife Teuta took possession of the kingdom, and governed it with the assistance of her friends. This Queen, who in her disposition was a perfect woman, dazzled with the splendour of the late success, and utterly regardless of all the States around her, at first permitted private men among her subjects to fit out ships for piracy: and afterwards, having drawn together a very considerable fleet, with an army not inferior to that which was employed in the former expedition, she gave commission to her Generals, to exercise hostilities upon every nation without reserve. Their first descent was made upon the coasts of Elis and Messenia: which were indeed at all times more exposed to insults from the Illyrians, than any other countries. For as their coast was of great extent, and their principal towns also situated far within the land, it was easy for the enemy to over-run and lay waste the country, before any effectual succours could be sent to their relief. At this time it happened, that the Illyrians had one day advanced as far as to Phœnice, a town of Epirus, in search of provisions: and finding there

a body of Gallic troops, in number about eight hundred, whom the Epirots had retained in their ſervice, they immediately began to concert meaſures with them for ſurpriſing the town. The Gauls ſoon conſented to the project: and the Illyrians, having landed their troops, and being joined by the ſoldiers of the garriſon, made themſelves maſters of the place upon the firſt aſſault.

As ſoon as the Epirots received the news of what had happened, they drew together an army with great diligence: and marching towards Phœnice, they there incamped, having in their front the river that runs before the town; and for their greater ſafety, they removed the planks of the bridge that was upon it. Being afterwards informed, that Scerdilaidas was advancing by land againſt them, ta the head of five thouſand Illyrians, and that he deſigned to take his route along the paſſes of Antigonia, they ſent away one part of their army to ſecure that city: while the reſt lay quiet in their poſt; indulging themſelves in full ſecurity in the plenty of the country, and neglecting even to place the neceſſary guards about the camp. The Illyrians, having heard of the diviſion which the enemy had made of their forces, and of the negligence that now reigned among them, began their march by night, and laying planks acroſs the bridge, paſſed the river without reſiſtance: and having poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſtrong and advantageous poſt, they continued there till break of day. In the morning, both armies drew up their forces in order of battle, in ſight of the town. The Epirots were defeated in the engagement; many of them being killed, and a greater number taken priſoners. The reſt directed their flight towards Atintania, and eſcaped.

The Epirots, after this ill ſucceſs, finding themſelves too weak to repel the enemy, and recover what they had loſt, implored aſſiſtance from the Ætolians and Achæans; who, in compaſſion to the deſperate ſtate of their affairs, raiſed an

army for their relief, and marched toward Helicranum. The Illyrians that had ſeized Phœnice, being now joined by the troops that were brought by Scerdilaidas, came alſo to the ſame place, intending to offer battle to the enemy. But as the ground was not commodious for their deſign, and becauſe they had about this time alſo received letters from the Queen, preſſing them to return with all poſſible diligence, to reduce ſome towns that had revolted to the Dardanians, they waſted all the province, and afterwards conſented to make peace with the Epirots; reſtoring their city to them for a ſum of money, and releaſing all the inhabitants that were free. And having ſent the ſlaves on board their veſſels, together with the reſt of their booty, they ſailed away to Illyria: while Scerdilaidas, with the troops that were under his command, took his route back again through the paſſes of Antigonia. The ſucceſs of this invaſion ſtruck no ſmall terror into all the Greeks that inhabited the coaſt. For when they ſaw that the ſtrongeſt and moſt powerful town of all Epirus had fallen ſo ſuddenly into the hands of the enemy, they no longer trembled for their lands and country only, as in former times; but began to fear, that there would now be no ſecurity either for themſelves or any of their cities.

The Epirots, thus reſcued from deſtruction when they had ſcarcely any hopes of ſafety left, were ſo far from ſhewing any reſentment of the injuries which they had ſuffered, and ſo forgetful likewiſe of what they owed to their deliverers, that they ſent ambaſſadors to Teuta, and in conjunction with the Arcanians, entered into an alliance with her. And from this time they conſtantly ſupported and aſſiſted the Illyrians, in oppoſition to all the intereſts of the Achæans and Ætolians: affording, by this declared ingratitude towards their friends and benefactors, a no leſs ſignal inſtance of their want of ſenſe and judgement, than that which had appeared in their former conduct. Whenever we fall into any of thoſe calamities

mities which are naturally incident to mankind, and from which no care or foreſight could have ſaved us, the fault is juſtly charged on fortune, or an enemy. But when our ſufferings are purely the reſult of our own indiſcreet and fooliſh conduct, the blame can only be imputed to ourſelves. And as the ſtrokes of fortune uſually excite the pity of mankind, who ſeem willing to partake in our diſtreſſes, and are ready to lend us their aſſiſtance; ſo on the other hand, an open and deliberate folly cannot fail to draw after it the cenſure and reproaches of all who view it in it's proper light. And this was plainly the treatment, which the Epirots at this time merited in the eyes of Greece. For in the firſt place, the common and well known character of the Gauls might have rendered them more cautious of intruſting any of that nation with the defence of a noble city, whoſe wealth and flouriſhing condition muſt continually tempt them by ſtrong incitements to revolt. But this body of troops eſpecially were men, whoſe temper and deſigns deſerved to have been watched with more than ordinary care. For they not only had been driven from their country by the people of their own nation, on account of ſome acts of treachery and violence which they had committed againſt their kindred and common tribes; but when the Carthaginians, who were at that time preſſed by the war of Sicily, had received about three thouſand of them into their pay, and ſtationed them in Agrigentum, they took occaſion, from ſome diſſenſions that aroſe between the ſoldiers and their chief commanders on the ſubject of their pay, to pillage that very city, which they had been engaged to protect and guard from inſult. Being afterwards in garriſon at Eryx, while the Romans were beſieging it, they formed a project for delivering up the town and inhabitants to the enemy: and when the treaſon was diſcovered, they went over in a body to the Roman camp. Yet among theſe alſo, they not long afterwards betrayed their truſt; and plundered the temple of Erycinian Venus.

Venus. As ſoon therefore as the war was ended, the Romans, having ſeen ſuch proofs of their abandoned profligacy, ſtripped them of their arms, and putting them on board ſome veſſels, baniſhed them all out of Italy. Theſe were the troops, to whom the Epirots now committed the defence of their government and country; and truſted the moſt flouriſhing of all their cities to their care: ſo that in juſtice, themſelves alone muſt be conſidered as the chief and only cauſe of the misfortunes that enſued. A conduct ſo repugnant to all ſenſe and reaſon deſerved not to paſs without ſome reflection: and it may ſerve hereafter as a caution to all States, never to admit too ſtrong a garriſon within their cities, eſpecially if it be compoſed of ſtrangers and barbarians.

The Illyrians had in former times very frequently moleſted veſſels that were ſailing from the ports of Italy. But while they had poſſeſſion of Phœnice, they ſent out large detachments from their fleet, and made depredations every where upon the Roman merchants; killing great numbers of them, and carrying many into ſlavery. The Romans had hitherto paid no great regard to the complaints that had been offered on this ſubject. But at this time theſe complaints were brought in ſuch numbers to the Senate, that they reſolved to ſend Caius and Lucius Coruncanius ambaſſadors to Teuta, to demand ſome clear account of theſe tranſactions.

The Queen, when ſhe ſaw the beauty and immenſe quantity of the ſpoils which her fleet had brought back from Phœnice, the moſt opulent town of all Epirus, had been ſtruck with admiration; and was the more confirmed in her intentions, of continuing that kind of war againſt the States of Greece. But ſome domeſtick commotions gave a ſtop to the preſent execution of that deſign; and forced her to employ her whole attention, to bring back the rebels to their duty. The greater part of theſe being ſoon reduced, ſhe was

now laying ſiege to Iſſa; the only town of her dominions, that ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to her authority.

To this place came the Roman Ambaſſadors; and having gained a time of audience, they recounted all the injuries which their people had received from the Illyrians. The Queen aſſumed high airs of diſdain and fierceneſs during the whole time of their diſcourſe. And when it was ended, ſhe replied; that ſhe would take care that her State in general ſhould afford no matter of complaint hereafter to the Romans; but that it was not the cuſtom in Illyria, for their kings to reſtrain their private ſubjects from endeavouring to enrich themſelves upon the ſea. The youngeſt of theſe Ambaſſadors was unable to bear this haughtineſs: and with a freedom, which could not have been condemned if it had been more in ſeaſon, he anſwered, "But among the Romans, O Queen, it is one of their beſt and nobleſt cuſtoms, to exact publick reparation for private wrongs; and at all times to redreſs the complaints of their ſubjects; and we ſhall endeavour, with the aſſiſtance of the Gods, to force You ſhortly to reform the kingly cuſtoms of Illyria." The Queen received this anſwer like a true woman; with much abſurd paſſion and reſentment: which carried her to ſuch exceſs, that ſhe ordered the Ambaſſadors to be purſued as they were returning home, and, in defiance of the laws of nations, killed the perſon who had ſpoken thoſe words. The Romans, being greatly enraged by ſo daring and flagitious an affront, immediately levy troops, get ready a fleet, and make all the neceſſary preparations for war.

In the beginning of the ſpring, the Illyrians, having drawn together a greater number of veſſels than before, ſailed away to invade the coaſt of Greece. One part of the fleet ſteered their courſe to Corcyra: while the reſt caſt anchor in the port of Epidamnus, on pretence to take in water and proviſions. But their true intention was, to make themſelves maſters of the

the town. The Epidamnians received them without ſuſpicion, and neglected all precaution. A party entered, dreſſed in an under garment only, and carrying pitchers in their hands, as if they came for water. But they had ſwords concealed within the pitchers; with which they attacked and killed the guards that were poſted at the Gate, and took poſſeſſion of it. And being at the ſame time joined, as it had been concerted, by a larger body of forces from the ſhips, they made themſelves maſters of a great part of the walls without much difficulty. But the Epidamnians, though taken by ſurprize, when they were in no apprehenſion of an enemy, reſiſted with ſuch bravery and vigour, that, after a very long and obſtinate diſpute, they at laſt forced the Illyrians to retire from the town. Thus they recovered by their valour, what their negligence had almoſt loſt; and were inſtructed by this accident, to uſe greater care and circumſpection in all future times.

The Illyrians, being thus repulſed, made haſte to get out to ſea; and having overtaken the reſt of the fleet, they ſail together to Corcyra, diſembark their troops, and lay ſiege to the city. The Corcyreans were under no ſmall conſternation: and finding themſelves too weak to encounter with ſo great a force, they ſent to the Ætolians and Achæans, imploring their aſſiſtance. The inhabitants of Apollonia and Epidamnus likewiſe deputed meſſengers to the ſame States: conjuring them to interpoſe with ſome ſpeedy and effectual ſuccours, and not permit the Illyrians to diſpoſſeſs them of their towns and natural country. The Achæans and Ætolians conſented readily to this requeſt. And having in a few days equipped at their joint charge ten ſhips of war that belonged to the Achæans, they ſteered their courſe towards Corcyra, hoping to raiſe the ſiege. But the Illyrians having received ſeven ſhips of war from the Acarnanians, in conſequence of their alliance with them, ſailed out and engaged the enemy near the iſland Paxus. The fight was equal between the Acarna-

nians, and that part of the Achæan fleet that was engaged againſt them: nor was any harm ſuſtained, except that ſome were wounded on either ſide. But the Illyrians, having tied their veſſels four and four together, came on to the engagement with much ſeeming negligence, and even preſented their flank to the enemy, as if to aid them in their attack, and render it more effectual. But no ſooner were they grappled cloſe, and the beaks of the Achæan ſhips had fixed them faſt to the ſides of the veſſels that were thus bound together, than the Illyrians, entering along the decks of the enemy, overpowered them by the number of their ſoldiers, took four of their Quadriremes, and ſunk one Quinquereme to the bottom. In this latter, periſhed Marcus the Carynian, whoſe whole life had been diſtinguiſhed by a zealous and cloſe attachment to all the intereſts of the Achæan Commonwealth. When thoſe that were engaged againſt the Arcananians ſaw what had happened to the reſt, they immediately prepared to fly, truſting to the celerity of their ſhips: and having the advantage of a freſh and favourable wind, they ſailed back again to their own country, and eſcaped without any loſs. The Illyrians were much elated by this victory, and received no farther interruption in the ſiege. But the Corcyreans, being quite diſheartened by the ill ſtate of their affairs, and deſpairing of all means of ſafety, ſuſtained the ſiege but a ſhort time afterwards, and then ſubmitting to the enemy, received a garriſon under the command of Demetrius of Pharos. The Illyrians then ſteered away to ſea, and returning again to Epidamnus, prepared to lay ſiege to that city.

About this time, one of the Roman Conſuls, Caius Fulvius, ſet out to proſecute the war, with a fleet of two hundred ſhips: while his Collegue Aulus Poſtumius began his march at the head of the land forces. The former of theſe had reſolved to ſail in all haſte to Corcyra; flattering himſelf, that he might perhaps arrive, before the ſiege was ended. And

though he was disappointed in that hope, yet he chose still to hold on his course: not only for the sake of getting more perfect information concerning all that had happened there, but also that he might make trial of the reality and importance of some advices, which had been sent to Rome by Demetrius: who, finding that Teuta had conceived some jealousy of his conduct, and dreading the effects of her resentment, had privately offered to the Romans, to deliver Corcyra into their hands, with every thing besides, that was within the reach of his authority. The Corcyreans saw with pleasure the arrival of the fleet, and with the consent of Demetrius delivered up the garrison to the Romans, and put themselves under their protection: as judging this to be the only measure, by which they could hereafter be secure against the lawless attacks and insults of the Illyrians. The Romans then sailed away to Apollonia, taking Demetrius with them, by whose advice they were chiefly guided during the rest of the war. The other Consul, having embarked the troops at Brundisium, arrived also about the same time at Apollonia. His army consisted of twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. The inhabitants received them without any difficulty, and submitted themselves entirely to their discretion. But the Consuls, on the news that Epidamnus was invested, immediately hastened their march that way. The Illyrians, being informed of their approach, raised the siege in disorder, and fled. The Romans, having received the Epidamnians also into their protection, advanced farther into Illyria, and reduced the Ardyæans. They now were met by deputations from many different towns and districts. Among these were the Atintanians, and Parthinians; who offered to receive their laws. The Romans admitted them all to terms of friendship and alliance; and continued their march to Issa, which was besieged by the Illyrians. And having raised the siege, and taken the inhabitants under their protection, they then sailed along the coast,

coaſt, and took many towns by ſtorm. But in the attack of one of theſe, called Nutria, they loſt not only a great number of their ſoldiers, but ſome Tribunes alſo, and a Quæſtor. They took likewiſe twenty boats, that were returning with plunder collected in the country. A part of the army that was employed in the ſiege of Iſſa, having declared for the intereſts of Demetrius, retired to Pharos, and were permitted to be ſafe. The reſt fled in diſorder, and eſcaped to Arbon. The Queen herſelf, with very few attendants, got ſafe to Rizon: a little town of conſiderable ſtrength, which ſtood at a diſtance from the ſea, upon a river of the ſame name.

The Romans after this ſucceſs, by which they had greatly enlarged the dominions of Demetrius, having prevailed on many cities of Illyria to receive him as their maſter, took their route back again to Epidamnus, with the fleet and army. Fulvius then returned to Rome, and carried with him the greater part of all the forces. But Poſtumius, having drawn together forty veſſels, and raiſed ſome troops among the neighbouring towns, reſolved to paſs the winter there; that he might be ready, in caſe of danger, to repreſs all commotions that might ariſe among the Ardyæans, and the reſt of the people who had ſubmitted, and put themſelves under the protection of the Romans.

But in the beginning of the Spring, Ambaſſadors arrived at Rome from Teuta, and agreed to a peace upon theſe conditions: "That the Queen ſhould pay a certain Tribute, and abandon all Illyria, a few places only excepted: and, which was of the greateſt importance to all the States of Greece, that ſhe ſhould never after that time ſail beyond Liſſus with more than two frigates, and thoſe unarmed."

The treaty being thus concluded, Poſtumius ſent Ambaſſadors to the Achæans and Ætolians; to acquaint them with the cauſes of the war, the progreſs and circumſtances of it, and the terms of the peace which they had made. The Ambaſſadors

baſſadors were received with great reſpect and favour by the two Republicks: and from thence they ſailed away to Corcyra. The Greeks were delivered by this treaty out of no ſmall terror; for the Illyrians were the common enemies of all.

Such was the firſt expedition of the Romans into Illyria and the neighbouring parts of Europe: which gave birth alſo to the firſt correſpondence, in the way of Embaſſy, between that Republick and the States of Greece. From this beginning, they took occaſion to depute, within a ſhort time afterwards, another Embaſſy to Corinth, and to Athens. And it was on that occaſion, that the Corinthians firſt admitted the Romans to be preſent at the Iſthmian Games.

CHAP. II.

DUring this time Aſdrubal, for it was here that we left the affairs of Spain, conducted all things in his government with great dexterity and wiſdom; enlarging the power, and advancing the intereſts of his Republick in that country, both by the whole courſe of his adminiſtration in it, and more particularly by building that city, which by ſome is called Carthage, and by others the New City: whoſe ſituation, with reſpect both to Spain and Afric, rendered it a place of the greateſt moment and importance. We ſhall take a proper occaſion to deſcribe more fully the advantage of this ſituation, and the uſe that may be made of it, in governing the affairs of thoſe two countries. The Romans could not behold ſo ſudden an increaſe of power without the greateſt apprehenſions. They ſaw the neceſſity of turning their thoughts to Spain: and reſolved to raiſe themſelves from that ſtate of indolence and inactivity, which had as it were ſhut their eyes, and prevented them from paying a due attention to the progreſs of their enemies. At this time, however, being themſelves in almoſt daily expectation of an invaſion from the Gauls,

Gauls, they neither dared to declare war againſt the Carthaginians, nor demand any hard conditions from them: but choſe rather to have recourſe to mild and gentle meaſures; till their arms had freed them from the apprehenſion of an enemy, whoſe ſituation in their very neighbourhood not only rendered their ſovereignty in Italy precarious, but even threatened to deprive them of their own natural and proper country. They ſent therefore to Aſdrubal, and concluded a treaty with him, by which, no mention being made of the reſt of Spain, it only was agreed, that the Carthaginians ſhould not paſs the Iberus with an army. This being ſettled, the Romans immediately turned their arms againſt the Gauls.

It will by no means be an uſeleſs taſk, nor foreign to the deſign of this Introduction, to give here a ſhort account of this people, from the time of their firſt ſettlement in Italy. For beſides that the ſubject itſelf is curious, and ſuch as well deſerves the pains of being particularly conſidered, it is alſo a point of the laſt importance, that we ſhould in this place previouſly be acquainted with it: in order to gain a right conception, what the country was, into which Annibal afterwards led his army, and what the forces, by whoſe aſſiſtance he attempted to ſubvert the Roman empire. We ſhall firſt deſcribe the nature of the country, and it's ſituation with reſpect to the other parts of Italy: that when we have thus acquired a knowledge of the places, we may be able more eaſily to comprehend, whatever was great and worthy of our notice, in the tranſactions that happened in them.

The whole of Italy reſembles a Triangle in its figure. The Eaſtern ſide is bounded by the Ionian ſea and Adriatic Gulph: the South and Weſt, by the Sicilian and Tyrrhenian ſeas. The third ſide, towards the North, is terminated by a chain of mountains called the Alps; which, beginning near Maſſilia, and the places above the Sardinian ſea, extend without any interruption

tion to within a very little diſtance of the inmoſt extremity of the Adriatic, and are conſidered as the Baſe of the Triangle. At the foot of theſe mountains, on the ſouthern ſide, lie thoſe Plains, of which we are now to ſpeak: which, both in their fertility and wide extent, are far ſuperior to any other parts of Europe, that have been yet diſcovered. Theſe Plains form alſo the figure of a Triangle; the top of which is made by the junction of the Alps and Apennines, a little above Maſſilia. The northern ſide is bounded by the Alps, to the length of two thouſand and two hundred ſtadia: the ſouthern, by the Apennines, to the extent of three thouſand and ſix hundred. The coaſt of the Adriatic forms the Baſe of this Figure: and contains in length, from Sena to the inmoſt part of the Gulph, almoſt two thouſand and five hundred ſtadia. So that the whole Plains together include a ſpace of near ten thouſand ſtadia in circumference.

The fertility of this country is greater than can be well expreſſed. They have grain of all kinds in ſuch abundance, that even in our times, a Sicilian Buſhel of wheat is ſold there for four Oboli; and of barley, for two. For a firkin of wine, they exchange an equal meaſure of barley. Panick alſo and millet are found among them in ſo great plenty, that nothing can exceed it. Their foreſts, which at certain diſtances are ſpread over all the country, afford ſo large a quantity of acorns, that though great numbers of ſwine are conſtantly conſumed by the inhabitants of Italy, as well in the uſes of private families, as for the ſupply of their armies, yet are they chiefly furniſhed with them from theſe plains. Such in a word is the cheapneſs and the plenty of all common neceſſaries, that when travellers ſtop to take refreſhment in their inns, inſtead of ſettling by agreement the prices of any particular proviſions, they only fix a certain rate for every perſon. This rarely exceeds the fourth part of an Obolus: and for this ſmall expence, they are ſupplied in full abundance with all

things that are requiſite. The numbers of the people, by whom theſe plains are filled, the ſize and comelineſs of their bodies, and their proweſs in war, may be fully underſtood from thoſe great actions, for which they are juſtly celebrated. Both ſides of the Alps, as far as the aſcent is eaſy, are inhabited by different nations. On that ſide, which looks towards the north and the river Rhone, dwell thoſe that are called the Tranſalpine Gauls. On the other ſide, the Tauriſci, and Agones, and other various tribes. The Tranſalpine Gauls derived their origin from the ſame common ſtock with the reſt: and obtained that appellation from their ſituation only; becauſe they fixed themſelves beyond the Alps. The tops of theſe mountains, on account of the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, and the perpetual ſnows with which they are covered, have hitherto remained without inhabitants. From the place where the Apennine mountains firſt begin, a little above Maſſilia, and from their junction with the Alps, the country on the ſide of the Tyrrhenian ſea quite down to Piſæ, the firſt town of Tyrrhenia to the weſt, and that alſo on the ſide towards the plains, as far as to the confines of the Arretinians, was all inhabited by the Ligurians. Adjoining to theſe were the Tyrrhenians; and next to them the Umbrians, ſituated on both ſides of the mountains. In this place, the Apennine, at the diſtance of about five hundred ſtadia from the Adriatic, leaves theſe Plains; and turning ſuddenly to the right, directs it's courſe towards the Sicilian ſea, dividing the reſt of Italy in the middle: ſo that what remains to complete the ſouthern ſide of this Triangle, is formed by the Plains themſelves; which are continued, from the point where the Apennine turns away, quite down to Sena, a town upon the Adriatic coaſt.

The river Po, celebrated by the Poets under the name of Eridanus, takes it's ſource among the Alpine mountains, near the upper point of the Triangle which we have now deſcribed,

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and firſt bends it's ſtream towards the ſouth, till it has gained the plains. Afterwards flowing eaſtward: it runs to empty itſelf by two mouths into the Adriatic Gulph. It divides theſe Plains into two unequal parts; the largeſt of which is that which lies extended between the Adriatic and the Alps. In the quantity of it's waters, it far exceeds the reſt of the rivers of Italy. For all the ſtreams that deſcend from the Alps and Apennines, are diſcharged into the channel of the Po. About the time eſpecially when the Dog-ſtar firſt appears, and the melted ſnows flow down in great abundance from theſe mountains, the fulneſs of it's ſtream is remarkably great and beautiful. This river is navigable from the mouth which is called Olane, to the diſtance of two thouſand ſtadia within the land. From it's firſt ſources, it flows in one ſingle channel as far as to the country of the Trigobali: and there breaking into a double ſtream, runs, as we have ſaid, to diſcharge itſelf by two mouths into the ſea. The firſt of theſe is called Padoa, the other Olane: the laſt of which affords a ſafe and commodious port for ſhips, not inferior to any upon the Adriatic coaſt. This river is called Bodencus, by the natives of the country.

There is no need to add to our deſcription of this river, the many ſad and tragical fables, with which the Greeks have filled their hiſtories: of the fall of Phaëton; the tears of the Poplars; and that race of black men, who live upon the river, and are ſaid ſtill to wear the habit of mourning, in memory of Phaëton's death. A cloſe diſcuſſion of ſuch ſtories would very ill ſuit with the deſign of this Introduction. But perhaps we ſhall take ſome fairer occaſion in another place, to conſider them in as full a manner as the ſubject may require: if it be only for the ſake of ſhewing ſome proofs of the inaccuracy of Timæus, with regard to the places which we have been deſcribing.

Theſe plains were formerly inhabited by the Tyrrhenians; who gained great fame by their exploits, in the country round Capua and Nola, which at that time was called the Phlegræan Fields. Whatever therefore we read in hiſtory, concerning the ancient dynaſties and fortunes of this people, muſt be all referred, not to the country which they poſſeſs at preſent, but to the plains juſt mentioned; whoſe fertility and wide extent afforded them the means of becoming great and powerful. But the Gauls, who often viſited this country for the ſake of commerce, and had ſeen it's beauty with a jealous eye, found occaſion, from ſome ſlight pretence, to fall ſuddenly upon the Tyrrhenians with a powerful army, when they were in no expectation of an enemy: and having driven them from their native ſeats, they took poſſeſſion of all the country that was round the Po. The firſt part of it, which lay neareſt to the ſources of the river, was ſeized on by the Laians and Lebecians. Next to theſe were the Inſubrians, a great and powerful nation: and after them, the Cenomans. Below all theſe, and neareſt to the Adriatic, were the Venetians: a very ancient people, whoſe dreſs and manners greatly reſembled thoſe of the Gauls, though they uſed a different language. This is that nation of whom the Tragic Poets have recorded ſo many monſtrous fables. On the other ſide of the Po, the firſt in order, and the neareſt to the Apennines, were the Ananes; and next to theſe, the Boii. Between the Boii and the Adriatic, were the Lingonian Gauls; and lower down, upon the coaſt, the Senones.

Theſe were the principal nations, that were ſeated in that tract of country which we have now deſcribed. Their manner of life was extremely plain and ſimple. They had no walled towns; nor any kind of furniture in their hamlets. The ground was their conſtant bed: and fleſh their chief food. Their ſole employment was agriculture, and war. All other ſciences

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and arts were utterly unknown among them. Their wealth conſiſted in gold and cattle: becauſe theſe alone were at all times moſt eaſily removed from place to place, as occaſion might require. But that which engaged their greateſt care, was to procure a numerous train of followers, all ready to ſupport their intereſts, and execute their commands. For every one among them was ſtrong and formidable, in proportion only to the number of theſe dependants.

From the time of their firſt ſettlement in theſe plains, the Gauls not only maintained themſelves in ſafe poſſeſſion of the country, from whence they had driven the Tyrrhenians, but by the terror of their arms forced many of the neighbouring nations alſo to receive their yoke. Some time afterwards, having defeated the Romans and their allies in a ſet engagement, and purſued them, during a flight of three days continuance, to the very gates of Rome, they made themſelves maſters of all the city, the Capitol alone excepted. But when they heard that the Venetians, taking occaſion from their abſence, had entered their territories with an army, they conſented to a treaty with the Romans, reſtored their city to them, and returned back again to their own country. They were afterwards for ſome time engaged in domeſtick wars. Some of the people alſo that lived among the Alps, envying them the poſſeſſion of a country that was ſo much better than their own, turned their arms againſt them, and made frequent incurſions upon their territory. During this time the Romans had full leiſure to recover by degrees their waſted ſtrength; and to reduce the Latins, who had a ſecond time revolted.

Thirty years after the time when Rome was taken, the Gauls advanced with a powerful army as far as Alba. The Romans, being thus attacked when they had no apprehenſion of a war, and not having time to draw together the troops of their allies, were afraid to take the field. But twelve years afterwards, when they were again invaded by as great a force, having

having received timely notice of the deſign, and being joined by their confederates, they marched out againſt the enemy with great alacrity and confidence, deſigning to engage in a deciſive battle. But the Gauls were ſtruck with terror at their approach: and as their army was diſtracted alſo by diſſenſions, they retreated, or rather fled, with great precipitation back again to their country; and remained quiet during the courſe of thirteen years. And having then remarked the great increaſe and progreſs of the Roman power, they conſented to a league of peace.

During thirty years, they firmly adhered to the conditions of this treaty. But being then threatened with a war from the Tranſalpine Gauls, and apprehending that the conſequences of it might prove fatal to them, they prevailed upon thoſe nations, partly by large preſents, and partly alſo by pleading their deſcent from one common ſtock, to deſiſt from their deſign, and to join their forces with them againſt the Romans. They march together through Tyrrhenia; and being aſſiſted alſo by the people of that country, ravage the Roman borders, and return ſafely back again with the ſpoil. But no ſooner were they arrived in their own country, than ſome diſputes aroſe among them concerning the diviſion of the plunder; which were carried to ſo great exceſs, that they loſt the moſt conſiderable part, not only of the booty, but of their army likewiſe. Such diſorders are upon theſe occaſions very frequent among the Gauls; eſpecially when they are filled with feaſting, and their ſenſes loſt in wine.

Four years afterwards, the Gauls, in conjunction with the Samnites, engaged the Romans in battle, in the country of the Camertines, and killed great numbers of them. The Romans, incenſed by this defeat, drew together all their forces: and having met the enemy, within a few days after the former action, in the diſtrict of the Sentinates, they deſtroyed the greateſt part of their army, and forced the reſt to

fly homewards in diſorder. About ten years afterwards, they returned again with a very great force, and laid ſiege to Arretium. The Romans attempted to raiſe the ſiege; but were defeated in an engagement before the city, and the Conſul Lucius killed. M. Curius, who ſucceeded him in office, ſent to treat with the enemy concerning the redemption of the priſoners. But the Gauls, in defiance of the laws of nations, killed the meſſengers. The Romans, being greatly enraged by an action ſo perfidious, raiſe a numerous army, and march immediately into Gaul. The Senones advance againſt them, but are defeated in a ſet engagement. The greater part of them were deſtroyed in the action: and the Romans, having forced the reſt to leave their habitations, ſeized the country into their hands. This was the part of Gaul, to which they for the firſt time ſent a colony; and built a city which was called Sena, from the name of the former inhabitants. We have already ſpoken of the ſituation of this place; which ſtands upon the Adriatic coaſt, in the extremity of thoſe plains that are watered by the Po.

The extirpation of the Senones alarmed the Boian Gauls with apprehenſions of being next involved in the ſame deſtruction. They therefore drew together all their forces; and having prevailed on the Tyrrhenians alſo to aſſiſt them, they marched out and engaged the Romans, near the lake called Vadimon. But the greater part of the Tyrrhenians were killed in the action; and a ſmall number only of the Boians ſaved themſelves by flight. Notwithſtanding this ill ſucceſs, they joined their forces again together in the following year; armed all the Youth that were of ſufficient age; and ventured on a ſecond battle. But their defeat was ſo intire, that, in ſpite of all their obſtinacy and reluctance, they were forced to ſue for peace, and accept conditions from the Romans. Theſe tranſactions happened three years before Pyrrhus invaded Italy; and five years before the memorable overthrow

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of the Gauls at Delphi. For Fortune about this time ſeemed to have infected all the Gallic nations with a ſpirit of war, which proved every where fatal to them.

The Romans derived two advantages, of very great importance, from theſe wars. For firſt, as they had ſo often been defeated by the Gauls, they had nothing left, either to apprehend or ſuffer, more dreadful than that which they had before experienced: ſo that in all their conteſts againſt Pyrrhus, they performed the part of ſkilful and well-practiſed combatants. The other advantage was, that having given a timely check to the ambition and the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Gauls, they had afterwards full leiſure to join all their forces, and employ the whole ſtrength of the Republick, firſt againſt Pyrrhus, when he invaded their dominions, and afterwards againſt the Carthaginians in the war of Sicily.

During forty-five years after their laſt defeat, the Gauls punctually obſerved the conditions of the peace, and gave no diſturbance to the Romans. But when thoſe who had beheld the paſt calamities, had in the courſe of time left the world, the race of young men that ſucceeded in their place, being hot and violent in their diſpoſition, unuſed to hardſhips, and unpractiſed in misfortunes, began, as it naturally happens in ſuch circumſtances, to ſow the ſeeds of freſh commotions. They took up matter of offence againſt the Romans upon the ſlighteſt pretexts: and engaged the Gauls that lived beyond the Alps to aſſiſt them with their forces. But as this deſign had been concerted privately between the chiefs alone, without the approbation or the knowledge of the multitude, the Tranſalpine Gauls no ſooner were advanced as far as Ariminum with their army, than the people among the Boians, having conceived a jealouſy of their intentions, roſe tumultuouſly againſt their chiefs, killed their two Kings, Galatus and Ates, and oppoſed the march of the ſtrangers, engaging them in a ſet battle, in which great ſlaughter enſued on both ſides.

The Romans, alarmed by the firſt account of this invaſion, had ordered the legions to take the field: but when they heard that the Gauls had thus defeated and deſtroyed each other, they returned back again with their forces.

Five years after this event, in the Conſulſhip of M. Lepidus, the lands of Picenum, from whence the Senones had been often driven out, were divided among the Romans by lot, in conſequence of a law propoſed for that purpoſe by Flaminius, in favour of the people. But this meaſure, as it proved afterwards one of the chief cauſes of the corruption of the Roman manners, was alſo the occaſion of the wars that now followed with the Gauls. For all that people in general, and eſpecially the Boians, who lay neareſt to the Roman borders, conceived great jealouſy from this proceeding: which ſeemed plainly to declare, that the deſign of the Romans was not ſo much to extend their conqueſts, and reduce them to pay obedience to their laws, as utterly to exterminate and deſtroy them. The Boians therefore and the Inſubrians, the moſt numerous and powerful of all theſe nations, agreed to unite their forces; and ſent ambaſſadors alſo to the Gauls who lived upon the Alps, and along the Rhone. Theſe were called Gæſatæ; becauſe their cuſtom was, to ſerve in armies for a certain hire: for this is what the name imports. The ambaſſadors gave large ſums of gold to the two Kings, Concolitanus and Aneröeſtus in order to gain them to their party, and excite them to a war againſt the Romans. They ſet before their eyes the wealth and flouriſhing condition of that empire; and the immenſe treaſures, which muſt accrue from the conqueſt of ſo great and powerful a people. They promiſed, that themſelves would bear an equal part in all the dangers of the war. They reminded them of thoſe great exploits, which their anceſtors had performed againſt the ſame people. That they not only had defeated them in battle, but had taken Rome itſelf upon the firſt aſſault, and obtained all the riches of the

place. And that when they had kept poſſeſſion of the city during ſeven whole months, in mere grace and favour they reſtored it to the Romans; and returned back again to their country ſafe and unhurt, and loaded with ſpoil of every kind. This diſcourſe excited in the minds of all the chiefs ſo great an eagerneſs and impatience for the war, that they ſoon drew together an army, which in the number of the troops, as well as from the bravery and diſtinguiſhed characters of the men who ſerved among them, far exceeded any that ever had been known in former times to march from this part of Gaul.

The Romans, having been informed in part of theſe preparations, and partly conjecturing what would happen, were ſeized with no ſmall conſternation. They uſed all diligence in raiſing troops; filled their magazines with proviſions, and other neceſſary ſtores; and often led their forces to the frontiers of their country, as if the Gauls already were arrived, when they had not even yet begun their march.

In the mean while, theſe commotions afforded full time and leiſure to the Carthaginians, to extend their conqueſts, and ſecure the acquiſitions which they had gained in Spain. For the Romans were forced, as we have ſaid, to neglect that country, till they had firſt reduced an enemy, who alarmed them with the apprehenſions of a nearer danger, and hung cloſe upon their very borders. They therefore were content with having ſet ſome bounds to the progreſs of the Carthaginians, by the treaty that was made with Aſdrubal; and, as the circumſtances of the times required, turned their whole thoughts and care upon the preſent war.

It was now eight years after the diviſion of the Picenian lands, when the Gæſatæ paſſed the Alps, with a numerous army, completely furniſhed and equipped, and advanced along the Po. They were joined by the Boians and Inſubrians, who perſiſted firmly in their firſt deſign. But the Venetians and the Cenomans, having been gained by ſome ambaſſadors

ſadors that were deputed to them, had made an alliance with the Romans. The Gauls therefore were obliged to leave a part of their forces behind them in the country, to keep thoſe nations under due reſtraint; while the reſt continued their route towards Tyrrhenia. Their numbers were, fifty thouſand Foot, and twenty thouſand Horſe and Chariots.

As ſoon as the Romans were informed that the Gauls had paſſed the Alps, they ſent away the Conſul L. Æmilius with an army to Ariminum, to oppoſe the entrance of the enemy on that ſide. One of the Prætors was ſent to command in Tyrrhenia: for C. Atilius, the other Conſul, had ſailed with ſome forces to Sardinia ſome time before. The people all were under the greateſt conſternation; and dreaded every thing that was terrible and fatal. Nor were theſe fears unreaſonable. What they had formerly ſuffered from the Gauls were always preſent to their minds. In apprehenſion of the ſame misfortune, they make haſte to draw together their troops, and raiſe new levies: ſend notice to their allies, to be in readineſs to join them; and order public enrolments to be made, of all the men in their dominions that were of age to bear arms. They reſolved that the armies of the Conſuls ſhould be compoſed of the choiceſt and the moſt conſiderable part of all their forces. Their magazines were filled with corn, and furniſhed with all kinds of military ſtores, in much greater abundance than had been ever known before. All manner of ſupplies were readily ſent in from every quarter. For the alarm had ſpread through all the ſtates of Italy, and filled all the inhabitants with terror. They no longer conſidered themſelves as Allies, that were invited to ſuſtain the Roman cauſe; or thought that this invaſion was deſigned againſt the power of that Republick only: but rather regarded the Gauls as their common enemies; whoſe approach portended the laſt deſtruction to themſelves, their towns, and all their territories.

They complied therefore with the greateſt chearfulneſs with every thing that was deſired or exacted from them.

But we ſhall here pauſe a while, to give a more minute detail of the ſtrength and preparations of the Romans, and of the numbers of their troops. For from hence we ſhall be able to diſcern with truth, what was the condition of this Republick, when Annibal had the boldneſs to invade it: and what the forces, which that General not only dared to encounter in the field, but alſo gained ſuch eminent advantages againſt them, as threw the Romans into very deſperate circumſtances.

The armies that were under the command of the Conſuls, conſiſted of four Roman Legions, each of which contained five thouſand and two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe; beſides the troops of the allies, which amounted to thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe. The Sabines and Tyrrhenians had raiſed for the preſent exigency above fifty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe; which were ſtationed upon the frontiers of Tyrrhenia, under the conduct of a Prætor. Twenty thouſand Umbrians and Sarſinates came alſo from the Apennines; together with an equal number of Cenomans and Venetians. Theſe were poſted upon the Gallic borders; with deſign to make incurſions into the territory of the Boians, and conſtrain that people to return again, and defend their own country. Such were the forces, that were diſpoſed upon the frontiers. They had alſo drawn together an army in the neighbourhood of Rome, to cover the city from ſurprize, and to be held in readineſs againſt all accidents. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand Roman Foot, and fifteen hundred Horſe: beſides thirty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, from the Allies. The numbers that were ſeverally enrolled in the publick regiſters were as follows. Among the Latins, eighty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe.

Among

Among the Samnites, ſeventy thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſe. The Iapygians and Meſapygians ſent the names of fifty thouſand Foot, and ſixteen thouſand Horſe: the Lucanians, thirty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe. The Marſians, Marucinians, Ferentinians, and Veſtinians, brought twenty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe. In Sicily, and at Tarentum, there were alſo two Legions; each of which contained four thouſand and two hundred Foot, with two hundred Horſe. The numbers of the Romans and Campanians, enrolled together, were two hundred and fifty thouſand Foot, and twenty-three thouſand Horſe. Thus the armies, that were diſpoſed abroad upon the ſeveral frontiers, conſiſted of near a hundred and fifty thouſand Foot, with about ſeven thouſand Horſe. And the entire numbers of thoſe that were capable of bearing arms, both among the Romans and their Allies, were ſeven hundred thouſand Foot, and ſeventy thouſand Horſe. Such were the forces of this Republick, when Annibal had the boldneſs to penetrate into the very heart of Italy, with an army which ſcarcely equalled twenty thouſand men. But this is a point, which we ſhall be able to ſhew in a clearer light, in the ſubſequent part of this Hiſtory.

The Gauls, having entered Tyrrhenia, waſted all the country without reſiſtance; and at laſt directed their march towards Rome. But when they had advanced as far as Cluſium, which is about three days journey diſtant from the city, they were informed, that the army, which had at firſt been poſted upon the frontiers of Tyrrhenia, was following cloſe behind, and ready to overtake them. They therefore directed their route back again in haſte, with a deſign to meet and engage them. The two armies arrived in ſight about the time of ſunſet, and incamped at a moderate diſtance from each other. But when night came on, the Gauls, having lighted all their fires, and left the Cavalry behind them in the camp, with orders, that when they had juſt ſhewn themſelves to the enemy in the morning,

morning, they ſhould immediately purſue the route which they were going to take, retreated unperceived to Fæſula, and there incamped: deſigning to receive their horſe as they came up, and to fall ſuddenly from thence upon the Romans. As ſoon as it was day, the Romans, perceiving that the Cavalry alone was left in ſight, perſuaded themſelves that the Gauls had already fled; and began to follow in all haſte, along the road by which the Horſe now retreated. But as ſoon as they approached the main body of the enemy, the Gauls ſuddenly appeared, and fell upon them. The action was for ſome time warm and obſtinate. But the Gauls, ſuperior both in bravery and numbers, at laſt obtained the victory. Six thouſand Romans were deſtroyed in the place: the reſt eſcaped by flight. The greater part of theſe, having gained a neighbouring eminence, ſeated themſelves upon it. The Gauls at firſt deſigned to attack them immediately in this poſt. But as they had been much exhauſted and fatigued by the march which they had made the night before, and were impatient to take ſome refreſhment and repoſe, they placed a part of their Cavalry only round the hill, and reſolved to force it in the morning, in caſe that the Romans ſhould then refuſe to ſurrender at diſcretion.

It happened, that Lucius Æmilius, who was at firſt incamped on the ſide of the Adriatic ſea, but had haſtened his march from thence, upon the news that the Gauls had taken their route through Tyrrhenia, and were advanced almoſt to Rome, arrived now moſt fortunately in the very moment when his aſſiſtance was chiefly wanted, and fixed his camp at a ſmall diſtance only from the enemy. The Romans that had ſaved themſelves upon the hill, having perceived his fires, and gueſſing the occaſion of them, reſumed their courage, and ſent ſome men unarmed, in the night, through the foreſt, to acquaint the Conſul with what had happened to them. Æmilius, finding that there was no time left to deliberate, immediately

immediately began his march towards the hill, at the head of all the Cavalry; having commanded the Tribunes to follow with the Infantry at break of day. The Gauls on their part alſo perceived the fires, and conjecturing that the enemy was near, called together a Council of their Chiefs. In this aſſembly Aneröeſtus, one of the Kings, obſerved to them; "that as they had gained ſo immenſe a booty, both in ſlaves, and cattle, and ſpoil of every kind, it ſeemed to be by no means prudent to venture on a battle, which muſt expoſe them to the danger of being ſtripped of all: that they rather ſhould reſolve to return again directly to their country, while there was yet time to retreat with ſafety: and that, when they had lightened the army of it's treaſure, they might again take the field, if it ſhould then be thought expedient, and renew the war againſt the Romans." Theſe ſentiments were readily embraced by all. They decamped therefore before break of day, and took their route back again through Tyrrhenia, marching along the coaſt. The Conſul Lucius, though he had increaſed his army with the troops that were ſaved upon the hill, was unwilling to venture on a ſet engagement; and rather choſe to follow cloſe upon the enemy, with deſign to ſeize ſuch opportunities as chance ſhould offer for attacking them with ſome advantage, and recovering part of the booty.

At this very time, Atilius, the other Conſul, returning from Sardinia, had diſembarked his troops at Piſæ, and was marching towards Rome, by a route directly oppoſite to that which the Gauls had taken. The latter had now almoſt reached the town of Telamon, upon the coaſt of Tyrrhenia, when ſome of their foragers were met by the foremoſt of the Roman troops: and being carried priſoners to the Conſul, and examined by him, they informed him of all that had been tranſacted, and of the approach of both the armies: that the Gauls were extremely near; and Æmilius following cloſe behind them. The Conſul was ſurprized at an event ſo ſtrange, and

greatly overjoyed to find, that he had fallen thus happily upon the enemy, and incloſed them between two armies. He commanded the Tribunes to draw up the troops in battle; to extend their front as much as the nature of the ground would ſuffer, without diſturbing the order of their march: and to move ſlowly towards the enemy. And having obſerved an eminence, that overlooked the road along which the Gauls muſt neceſſarily paſs, he made haſte, at the head of all the Cavalry, to ſeize that poſt; in the hope, that by being the firſt to begin the action, he ſhould ſecure to himſelf the chief honour of the victory. The Gauls, who as yet were ignorant of the arrival of Atilius, and imagined only that the other Conſul had ſtretched his march before them in the night, in order to poſſeſs himſelf of all the advantageous poſts, detached their Cavalry, together with a part of their light-armed troops, to force the Romans from the hill. But being ſoon acquainted with the truth, by one of the priſoners that were taken, they immediately ranged their Infantry in order of battle: and that their diſpoſition might be ſuited to the preſent exigency, they gave to their whole army a double front; that thus they might be able to ſuſtain at once the attack of thoſe that were coming upon them from behind, and of thoſe whom they now likewiſe knew to be advancing in front againſt them.

Though Æmilius had been before informed, that theſe legions had arrived at Piſæ, he had conceived no kind of expectation, that they were yet ſo near. But being now aſſured of their approach by what paſſed upon the hill, he preſently ſent away his Cavalry to the place, to aſſiſt the combatants: and having alſo ranged his Infantry in order of battle after the uſual manner, he advanced againſt the enemy.

Among the Gauls, the Gæſatæ, and after them the Inſubrians, compoſed the front behind, that was turned towards Æmilius. The Tauriſci and the Boians formed the oppoſite front: and ſtood ready to receive the attack of Atilius and his legions.

legions. The Chariots were placed in the extremity of either wing. The plunder had been all removed to a neighbouring hill; and a detachment was left to guard it. The army, being thus formed in double front, was not only terrible to behold, but very proper alſo for action. The Boians and Inſubrians wore the breeches of their country, and were covered with light military veſts. But the Gæſatæ, who were both vain and fearleſs, being apprehenſive that the buſhes which grew upon the place might be entangled in their habits, and obſtruct their motions, threw away all covering, and keeping their arms only, preſented themſelves naked to the enemy. The fight was begun by the Horſe upon the hill, in the clear view of all the armies. For the numbers that were engaged were very great; the whole Cavalry having run together in promiſcuous crouds from all ſides to the combat. In this action, the Conſul Caius, while he advanced without ſufficient caution too far among the enemy, loſt his life; and his head was carried to the Gallic kings. The Romans however maintained the fight with ſo much firmneſs, that they gained at laſt a perfect victory, and kept intire poſſeſſion of their poſt.

The Infantry now approached each other: offering to view a ſpectacle, which muſt needs appear moſt ſtrange and ſingular, I do not ſay to thoſe alone that were preſent at it, but to all who can at this time form in their minds a diſtinct conception of the ſcene. For certainly an engagement between three different armies at once muſt ſtrike with many circumſtances, which are wholly different from thoſe of other combats, both in the appearance and in the courſe of action. Nor is it eaſy even now to determine, whether the advantages, which the Gauls derived from this diſpoſition of their forces, were not greater than the danger to which they were expoſed. For though they were attacked on both ſides, yet as their army was formed with a double front, they were not only

able to oppoſe both enemies at once, but alſo mutually to protect and cover each other from any attack behind. But the chief advantage was, and which is indeed peculiar to this kind of diſpoſition, that there was no place or room for flight, nor any hopes of ſafety but in victory.

The Romans were elated with no ſmall joy, when they ſaw that they had thus incloſed the enemy as in a ſnare. But on the other hand, the appearance of the Gallic forces, and the unuſual noiſe with which they advanced to action, ſtruck them with great amazement. For beſides their horns and trumpets, the number of which was almoſt infinite, the whole army broke together into ſuch loud and continued cries, that the neighbouring places every where reſounded, and ſeemed to join their voices with the ſhouts and clamour of the inſtruments and ſoldiers. The very looks and motions alſo of the Gauls, that ſtood naked in the front, and were diſtinguiſhed by their comelineſs and ſtrength, greatly increaſed the terror. In the foremoſt ranks, the combatants were all adorned with chains of gold about their necks and hands. The Romans fixed their eyes with eagerneſs upon theſe: and if the appearance of the enemy diſheartened them with fear, the proſpect of ſo rich a ſpoil ſerved only to inflame their courage.

The light-armed forces of the Romans, advancing firſt, as their cuſtom is, to the front of all the army, began the fight by diſcharging a cloſe and formidable ſhower of darts and javelins. The Gauls that were in the ranks behind, were in part ſecured againſt theſe weapons, by their breeches, and their military veſts. But thoſe that ſtood naked in the front, were thrown into great diſorder and confuſion, by an attack which they had not at all expected, and which they knew not how to obviate or reſiſt. For the Gallic buckler was too ſmall to cover them: and as their bodies were alſo naked, and of the largeſt ſize, the javelins that were thrown made their entrance more effectually, and in greater numbers. To turn the attack againſt

againſt theſe men, was a thing impoſſible: by reaſon of the diſtance from whence they fought. Nor was it eaſy to force their way through ſo thick a ſtorm of darts. In this perplexed and wretched ſituation, ſome of them, being reduced at laſt to a ſtate of ſenſeleſs rage and madneſs, threw themſelves among the enemy, and ruſhed voluntarily upon death: while the reſt fell back upon their friends; treading down the ranks behind them, and exhibiting in their faces all the marks of conſternation and extreme diſmay. Thus the fierce and daring ſpirit of the Gæſatæ was effectually checked and rendered uſeleſs, even in the firſt onſet, by the Roman javelins.

The Romans, having made the ſignal for their light-armed forces to retire, moved forwards with the legions. Againſt theſe, the Inſubrians, Boians, and Tauriſci, ſucceeded to the fight; and ſuſtained it with the greateſt obſtinacy. Though cloſely preſſed and moſt dreadfully wounded, yet ſtill they maintained their ground, and reſiſted with amazing force. Nor were they in any point inferior to the Romans, except in the advantage of their weapons. For as the Gallic buckler was of a ſmaller ſize, ſo their ſwords likewiſe were formed to ſtrike only with the edge; whereas the Roman ſwords were made both to puſh and ſtrike. But when the Horſe came pouring down upon them from the hill, and attacked their flank, the victory was ſoon determined. The Infantry were ſlaughtered in their ranks, while the Cavalry precipitately fled. Forty thouſand Gauls were ſlain; and ten thouſand taken priſoners. Among the laſt was Concolitanus, one of their Kings. The other King, Aneröeſtus, eſcaped with a few attendants to a neighbouring place; and there killed himſelf, with his companions. The Conſul, having collected together all the ſpoil, ſent it away to Rome, and reſtored the plunder to the people, from whom it had been taken. He then led his army through Liguria into the Boian territory; and having ſatiated his ſoldiers with the plunder of

the country, he returned to Rome within a few days afterwards, and hung up in the Capitol the ſtandards, bracelets, and golden collars. The reſt of the ſpoil, together with the priſoners, was reſerved to adorn his triumph. Such was the fatal end of this invaſion; which had threatened ruin and extreme deſtruction to all the States of Italy, and eſpecially to the Romans.

The Romans, elated by a victory ſo ſignal and complete, were perſuaded, that they ſhould now be able to drive the Gauls intirely out of all the country round the Po. They make great preparations, and having raiſed a numerous army, ſend it away under the command of the new Conſuls, Quintus Fulvius, and Titus Manlius. The Boians were terrified by their approach, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. But by reaſon of the rains that fell afterwards in great abundance, and becauſe a dreadful peſtilence raged alſo in the Roman camp, the reſt of the ſeaſon paſſed over without any action.

The Conſuls of the following year, P. Furius and C. Flaminius, led the army a ſecond time into Gaul, through the country of the Anamares, who were ſituated at no great diſtance from Maſſilia: and having firſt gained that people to their alliance, they advanced into the territory of the Inſubrians, near the place where the Addua falls into the Po. But becauſe they had ſuffered greatly from the enemy, both as they paſſed the river, and while they were employed in their incampment, they were forced to remain for ſome time quiet without attempting any thing; and afterwards made a treaty with the Inſubrians, by which they conſented to leave the country. But when they had marched for ſome days round the borders of the province, they paſſed the river Cluſius, and came into the diſtrict of the Ananes their allies: and having increaſed their army with the forces of the country, they again invaded the Inſubrians, on the other ſide towards the Alps, and ſpread fire and devaſtation over all their lands and villages.

villages. When the Inſubrians ſaw, that the Romans were thus determined in their hatred, and not likely to be moved from their deſigns againſt them, they reſolved to try the fortune of a general engagement. Having therefore brought together all their military Enſigns, and among the reſt, the golden Standards from the Temple of Minerva, which were called the Immoveable, and having raiſed an army of full fifty thouſand men, and furniſhed it with every kind of neceſſary ſtores, they marched in terrible array, as if aſſured of victory, and incamped before the enemy.

As the Romans were much inferior in their numbers, they at firſt deſigned to take the aſſiſtance of the Gallic troops, that were with them in the camp. But when they had conſidered on the other hand, that this people all were noted for their fraud and perfidy, and that the preſent conteſt was againſt an enemy of the ſame race and nation, it ſeemed moſt prudent not to truſt them in ſo critical and dangerous a conjuncture. They forced them therefore to paſs the river, and broke all the bridges, keeping their own army ſtill on this ſide. By this precaution, they not only were ſecure againſt all treaſon from the Gauls, but laid their own troops alſo under the neceſſity of ſuſtaining the battle bravely to the laſt. For as they had now a river in the rear that was not fordable, there were no hopes of ſafety for them but in victory. When this was done, they made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the engagement.

Upon this occaſion, the Romans uſed a very wiſe and ſenſible expedient, which was firſt ſuggeſted by the Tribunes, who alſo inſtructed all the army, and every ſoldier in particular, in the manner in which it ſhould be practiſed. They had remarked in all their former combats, that the Gauls were always fierce, impetuous, and very formidable, in their firſt attack: but that their ſwords were ſuch as could make but one ſingle ſtroke; by the force of which they were ſo bent

bent and twiſted, that unleſs the ſoldiers could have leiſure to reſt them upon the ground, and with the aſſiſtance of their feet recover them to their former ſhape, the ſecond ſtroke was wholly without effect. They took therefore the Pikes from the Triarii, that were in the laſt line of the army, and diſtributed them among the cohorts of the firſt: with orders, that they ſhould begin the attack with theſe, and afterwards uſe their ſwords. They then advanced in order of battle againſt the front of the enemy. The Gauls, by making their firſt ſtroke upon the Pikes, rendered their ſwords unfit for any farther uſe. The Romans then ran forwards with their ſwords, and preſſing cloſe upon them, deprived them even of the power of attempting any ſecond ſtroke. For as the Gallic ſwords were only formed to give a falling blow, a certain diſtance was always neceſſary for that purpoſe. But the Romans, who were armed with ſwords that were ſharpened at the point, were able to direct their thruſts againſt the breaſts and faces of the enemy, and gave wound after wound without remiſſion, ſo that the greater part of all this numerous army was at laſt deſtroyed upon the place.

As the ſucceſs in this engagement was chiefly to be aſcribed to the prudent foreſight of the Tribunes, ſo on the other hand, the conduct of the Conſul Flaminius ſeems to deſerve ſome cenſure. For by having ranged his troops in battle upon the very banks of the river, ſo that there was no ſpace left ſufficient for the cohorts to retreat, he deprived the Romans of one advantage, of which they make great uſe in all their combats. If the enemy had gained but the leaſt ground upon them in the action, the whole army muſt have been puſhed into the river. But the courage and dexterity of the Romans ſaved them from this diſgrace, and carried the victory to their ſide, in the manner which we have now deſcribed. They then returned back to Rome, loaded with various ſpoils, and with rich booty of every kind in great abundance.

After

After this defeat, the Gauls ſued for peace, and offered to ſubmit to any conditions. But the Conſuls of the following year, M. Claudius and Cn. Cornelius, prevailed to have all thoughts of peace rejected. The Gauls, being thus diſappointed in their hopes, reſolved to make a laſt and deſperate effort. They ſent a ſecond time to the Gæſatæ; and having hired a body of their troops, to the amount of thirty thouſand men, they kept themſelves in readineſs, and waited for the arrival of the Romans. In the beginning of the Spring, the Conſuls led the army into the Inſubrian territory, and incamped before Acerræ, which ſtood between the Alps and the river Po. As they had ſecured, upon their firſt arrival, all the advantageous poſts, the Gauls were unable to throw any relief into the place. But in order to force the Romans to raiſe the ſiege, they ſent a part of their army into the country of the Ananes, beyond the Po, and laid ſiege to a town that was called Claſtidium. As ſoon as the Romans heard of this attempt, the Conſul Claudius, taking with him the Cavalry, together with a part alſo of the legions, marched in all haſte to ſuccour the beſieged. The Gauls, being informed of their approach, raiſe the ſiege, and advance in order of battle againſt the enemy. When they came in ſight, the Roman Horſe flew briſkly to the charge. The Gauls for ſome time ſuſtained their fury: but being afterwards ſurrounded by them, and attacked at once both in flank and rear, they were at laſt completely routed by the Cavalry alone, and forced to fly in great diſorder. Many of them were puſhed into the river, and periſhed in the ſtream: but the greater part were deſtroyed by the enemy in the place.

After this action, the Romans became maſters of Acerræ, and of all the ſtores that were laid up in it in very great quantity. For the Gauls had fled in haſte to Mediolanum, the chief city of the Inſubrians. Cornelius followed after them without delay, and preſented himſelf before the town.

The Gauls lay quiet, and attempted nothing. But when the Romans had begun their march back again towards Acerræ, they then ſallied out, and falling ſuddenly upon their rear, killed a great number of them, and forced ſome to fly. But the Conſul, having ordered the advanced bodies of the army to return, encouraged them to ſtand, and repel the efforts of the enemy. The fight now grew warm and obſtinate. For the Gauls, emboldened by their firſt ſucceſs, for ſome time maintained their ground with firmneſs. At laſt however they were intirely broken and defeated, and obliged to fly towards the mountains. Cornelius purſued cloſely after them; plundered all the country; and took Mediolanum by ſtorm. After theſe great loſſes, the Chiefs of the Inſubrians, deſpairing of any further means of ſafety, ſubmitted their country and themſelves to the Romans at diſcretion.

Such was the end of the Gallic wars: which, if we regard only the daring ſpirit and undaunted bravery of the combatants, the forces that were brought into the field, the battles that were fought, and the numbers that fell in thoſe engagements, muſt certainly appear as great and formidable as any that are known in Hiſtory. But on the other hand, if we reflect upon the raſhneſs, with which theſe expeditions were projected, or the abſurd and ſenſeleſs conduct, by which they ſeverally were carried into execution, nothing will be found more trifling or contemptible. For the Gauls, I do not ſay moſt frequently, but even in every thing that they attempt, are hurried head-long by their paſſions, and never ſubmit to the rule of reaſon. From hence it happened, that in a ſhort time they were diſpoſſeſſed of all the plains that are watered by the Po; ſome few places only, at the foot of the Alps, excepted. I thought it neceſſary therefore, to give ſome account of the conduct and the fortunes of this people, from their firſt ſettlement in the country, to the time of their final excluſion from it. Such incidents very properly belong to Hiſtory;

Hiſtory; and well deſerve to be tranſmitted to all future times. For from theſe, poſterity may learn, what little cauſe there is to dread the raſh and ſudden expeditions of any of theſe barbarous tribes: and in how ſhort a time their ſtrongeſt forces may be diſſipated, by thoſe who are determined bravely to reſiſt, and to ſtruggle even to the lateſt hope, rather than be deprived of their juſt and natural rights. I am perſuaded, that what Hiſtorians have recorded of the expedition of the Perſians into Greece, and of the defeat of the Gauls at Delphi, has ſerved greatly to confirm and animate the Greeks, in the conteſts which they ſo often have ſuſtained in defence of their common liberty. For whoever revolves in his mind the wonderful tranſactions of thoſe times, and conſiders the vaſtneſs of the preparations, the bravery of the armies, and the almoſt infinite number of the forces, which were all vanquiſhed and diſperſed, by the ſuperior conduct of thoſe troops, who were able to oppoſe ſenſe to violence, and ſkill to raſhneſs, will eaſily be aſſured, that no proviſion of arms or ſtores, no forces however numerous, can ſtrike ſo great a terror into men that are brave and reſolute, as to force them to abandon all thoughts of ſafety, or ever part with the hope of being able to defend their country. With regard to the Gauls eſpecially, their armies, even within theſe later times, have often ſpread the alarm among the States of Greece. And this was ſtill a farther motive, by which I was inclined to give a ſhort account of the events that happened among this people, even from the earlieſt period of their hiſtory. We now return to the place, from whence we made this digreſſion.

CHAP. III.

THE Carthaginian General Aſdrubal, when he had now for eight years governed the affairs of Spain, and in the courſe of his adminiſtration greatly enlarged the ſway of his

Republick, not ſo much by force of arms, as by his addreſs, and dexterous management of the Princes of the country, was one night murthered in his tent by a certain Gaul, in reſentment of ſome private injuries. Annibal was at this time young: yet becauſe in all his actions he had ſhown great proofs of courage and capacity, the Carthaginians beſtowed upon him the command of the army. He was no ſooner inveſted with this charge, than it was clear to all who obſerved his conduct, that his intention was to make war upon the Romans; as indeed it happened not long afterwards. From this time, therefore, ſuſpicions, mutual jealouſies, and complaints, began to break out between the two Republicks. The Carthaginians, ſtung by the diſgrace and loſſes which they had ſuſtained in Sicily, looked earneſtly for ſome occaſion to revenge themſelves upon their enemies. The Romans on the other hand watched all their motions, ſuſpected their deſigns, and kept themſelves upon their guard againſt them. When ſuch were the ſentiments on both ſides, it was manifeſt to all men of judgment, that a war muſt ſoon enſue.

About this time the war commenced in Greece, in which the Achæans, in conjunction with King Philip and the reſt of the Allies, were engaged againſt the Ætolians. This was called the Social War.

We have hitherto been employed in giving ſuch an abſtract of the chief tranſactions both in Sicily and Afric, and of thoſe events that were connected with them, as was agreeable to the deſign of theſe Preliminary books. And thus we are arrived at that point of time, from whence we propoſed to begin our Hiſtory: the commencement of the ſecond war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, which is uſually called the war of Annibal, and the Social War now mentioned. But before we engage in the deſcription of theſe wars, we ſhall give alſo ſome account of the affairs of Greece which preceded this period: that our Introduction may be complete,

complete, and the way be open to every part of the Hiſtory that follows. For as my deſign is not to write the annals of any particular country, to relate the affairs of Perſia only or of Greece, as former Hiſtorians have done, but to include in one General Hiſtory all the known parts of the earth; a deſign, in which I was encouraged to engage by many circumſtances that are peculiar to the preſent times, and which will more fully be explained hereafter; it ſeems neceſſary, that we firſt ſhould take a ſhort review of the paſt fortunes and condition of thoſe States and countries that are chiefly celebrated in the world.

With regard indeed to the people of Aſia, and to thoſe of Ægypt, there is no need to look back beyond the times which we have juſt now mentioned. For the events that happened among them in a former age, have already been recorded by many writers, and are ſufficiently known to all. Nor have they ſuffered, in theſe latter times, any change or revolution of ſo great importance, as might make it neceſſary to recount any of thoſe actions that preceded. But we ſhall trace from a period more remote the fortunes of the royal Houſe of Macedon, and thoſe of the Achæan Republick: the firſt of which, within the courſe even of our own times, has fallen to ruin; and the latter grown to an amazing height of power, through the conſent and harmony of it's ſeveral parts. For though great pains were formerly employed to engage the cities of Peloponneſus into this confederacy, yet the labour was without effect. The intereſts, or the ambition, of particular States ſtill influenced all their actions; and ſtifled their attention to the common liberty. But in theſe days, their union is ſo intire and perfect, that they are not only joined together in bonds of friendſhip and alliance, but even make uſe of the ſame laws, the ſame weights, coins, and meaſures, the ſame magiſtrates, counſellors, and judges: ſo that the inhabitants of this whole tract of Greece ſeem in all reſpects to

form but one ſingle city, except only that they are not incloſed within the circuit of the ſame walls. In every other point, both through the whole Republick, and in every ſeparate State, we find the moſt exact reſemblance and conformity.

Let us firſt enquire then, by what means the name of Achæans came to be ſo generally received in all the parts of Peloponneſus: ſince thoſe to whom this appellation originally belonged, were far from being ſuperior to the reſt, either in the number of their cities, the extent or wealth of their territory, or the courage of their people. For both the Spartans and Arcadians are far more numerous, as well as in poſſeſſion of a much larger tract of country: and in all the acts of valour and martial proweſs, they are well known to be inferior to none of the States of Greece. From whence then has it happened, that not the people of theſe countries only, but all the reſt of the inhabitants of Peloponneſus, are ſo well pleaſed to receive, not only their laws and form of government, but their very name alſo, from the Achæans? To aſcribe all this to chance, is in a high degree abſurd and fooliſh. It would become us rather to ſearch out ſome cauſe: ſince nothing happens without a cauſe; not even among thoſe events which ſeem to be the moſt fortuitous. In my judgment then, this cauſe is nothing elſe, than that Equality and Liberty, in a word that Democratical ſpecies of government, which is found more juſt and perfect in it's kind among the Achæans, than in any other State. This Republick was at firſt compoſed of a ſmall part only of the inhabitants of Peloponneſus; who voluntarily aſſociated themſelves into one body. But a greater number ſoon joined themſelves to theſe; induced to it by perſuaſion, and the manifeſt advantages of ſuch an union. And ſome, as opportunities aroſe, were forced into the confederacy: but were ſoon well ſatisfied with the violence, by which they had been compelled to embrace ſo excellent a form of government. For the new citizens were ſuffered to enjoy all the rights and privileges

vileges that were permitted to the old. Every thing was equal among them all. Thus, by employing the means that were of all things moſt effectual for their purpoſe, Equality and Gentleneſs, they ſoon arrived at the point which they had in view. To this we muſt aſcribe the growth and ſtrength of the Confederacy; and the flouriſhing condition which the people of Peloponneſus have from that time enjoyed.

This form of government was of very ancient date among the Achæans. Of this there are many proofs: but it will be ſufficient to mention only one or two. After thoſe diſorders that happened in the part of Italy that was called Great Greece, in which the Pythagoreans were conſumed in fire, together with the Houſe in which they were aſſembled, the whole country was thrown at once into a ſtate of anarchy and wild confuſion. For the chief men of every city had periſhed in that horrible deſtruction. The towns all were filled with tumult, ſlaughter, and the moſt dreadful outrages. Upon this occaſion, though Deputies were ſent from almoſt all the States of Greece, to quiet their diſſenſions, and reſtore peace among them, the Achæans were the only people upon whoſe aſſiſtance and advice they conſented to rely. Nor was this the only inſtance, in which they ſhewed their approbation of the inſtitutions of this Republick. For not long afterwards, they reſolved to imitate the whole model of their government. In this deſign, the people of Croton, Sybaris, and Caulonia, aſſociated themſelves by mutual agreement into one confederacy; and built a Temple for holding their common ſynods and aſſemblies, inſcribing it to Jupiter Homorius. They adopted likewiſe all the laws and cuſtoms of the Achæans, and began to direct their whole adminiſtration by them. But Dionyſius the Syracuſan Tyrant, and their barbarous neighbours, who were very ſtrong and powerful, in a ſhort time forced them to deſiſt from the deſign.

When

When the Thebans, after the great and unexpected victory which they had obtained againſt the Lacedæmonians in the battle of Leuctra, began, with the ſurprize of all, to lay claim to the ſovereignty of Greece, various troubles and commotions aroſe among the people of the country; and eſpecially between the two contending parties: for the one refuſed to ſubmit as conquered, while the other perſiſted ſtill to claim the victory. In theſe circumſtances, they at laſt agreed to yield all the points that were in diſpute between them, to the ſole judgement and deciſion of the Achæans. Nor was this preference obtained by any ſuperiority of ſtrength or power; for they were at that time the leaſt of all the States of Greece; but was confeſſedly beſtowed upon that integrity and love of virtue, by which they were diſtinguiſhed above all other people.

At this time therefore, they were powerful in inclination only, and not from any real ſtrength. Their government had not yet been able to acquire any conſiderable increaſe, for want of a Chief that was capable of giving full accompliſhment to their deſigns. For as often as any appeared among them, whoſe views and conduct were ſuſpected to tend that way, they were immediately oppoſed in every enterprize, and checked in all their motions, either by the Lacedæmonians, or ſtill more frequently by the Kings of Macedon. But when they had at laſt found one, whoſe abilities were equal to the taſk, they then ſoon made known the inherent excellence and power of their Republick, by carrying into execution that vaſt and glorious project, of uniting all the States of Peloponneſus to the body of their own confederacy. The firſt and chief author of this Union was Aratus the Sicyonian. Philopœmen of Megalopolis, after many ſtruggles, conducted it to it's completion: and Lycortas, with others who purſued his meaſures, added to it it's laſt firmneſs and ſtability. We ſhall take occaſion to relate their ſeveral actions, with the time and manner

in

in which they were performed, as fully and particularly as the deſign of this Hiſtory may require. We ſhall indeed, both now and at all times hereafter, touch but lightly on the ſeveral parts of the adminiſtration of Aratus: becauſe he has left behind him a very faithful and clear account of his own tranſactions. But in all that regards the reſt, we ſhall enlarge more copiouſly, and ſurvey their conduct with a nicer care. At preſent, in order to make this whole inquiry more eaſy to ourſelves, as well as more intelligible to the reader, we ſhall look back to the time when the Achæans, after they had been broken into ſeparate bodies by the Kings of Macedon, firſt formed the reſolution of uniting again their ſeveral cities into one community. For from this beginning their Republick gradually enlarged it's bounds and power, till it arrived at laſt at that ſtate of perfect greatneſs, in which it has been ſeen to flouriſh in theſe latter times.

It was in the hundred-twenty-fourth Olympiad, that the Patrians and Dymæans aſſociated themſelves the firſt into this confederacy. In the ſame Olympiad, Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, Lyſimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, all died. The ſtate of the Achæans before this time was, in few words, as follows. Tiſamenes, the ſon of Oreſtes, being driven from Sparta upon the return of the Heraclidæ, gained poſſeſſion of Achaia by force, and was declared Sovereign of the country. His deſcendants reigned after him in natural ſucceſſion, down to Ogyges. But when the Children of this Prince had ceaſed to make the laws the rule of their adminiſtration, and began to govern all things by their own arbitrary will, the Achæans changed the conſtitution from Monarchy to a Commonwealth. In this ſtate they continued afterwards, to the times of Alexander. And though different accidents might in ſome conjunctures introduce a temporary change in their affairs, yet upon the whole they ſtill preſerved the form of a genuine Democracy. Their Republick was

compoſed of twelve cities: all of which now exiſt, except Olenus and Helice, which were ſwallowed by an inundation of the ſea, not long before the battle of Leuctra. The names of the twelve were, Patræ, Dyme, Pharæ, Tritæa, Leontium, Ægira, Pellene, Ægium, Bura, Carynia, Olenus, and Helice. But after the death of Alexander, this union was diſſolved by various conteſts and diſſenſions that were raiſed among them, chiefly through the arts of the Kings of Macedon. Every City was now engaged in a ſeparate intereſt, and no longer acted in concert with the whole. The effect of this diſcord was, that ſome of them received garriſons from Demetrius and Caſſander, and afterwards from Antigonus Gonatas; and ſome were ſeized by Tyrants: for Antigonus gave both eſtabliſhment and ſupport to a great number of theſe throughout all Greece. But in the hundred-twenty-fourth Olympiad, as we have already mentioned, they ſaw their error, and began to think of returning to their former ſtate. This was the time, in which Pyrrhus invaded Italy. Dyme, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, were at firſt the only cities that agreed to unite themſelves again in one community: and it is on that account, that there is now no monument remaining of this new confederacy. About five years afterwards, the people of Ægium drove out the garriſon, and joined their city to the League. Their example ſoon was followed by the Burians, who killed their Tyrant; and afterwards by the Carynians alſo. For when Iſeas, the Tyrant of Carynia, ſaw that by the management of Marcus and the Achæans, the garriſon was driven out of Ægium, and the Tyrant of the Burians killed, and that their forces were preparing to inveſt his territory upon every ſide, he laid down his Royalty, and, having obtained a promiſe of life and ſafety, aſſociated his city to the confederacy.

Some perhaps will be ſollicitous to know the motives, by which I have been led back to this early period. My deſign then

then was, firſt, that I might mark preciſely the time and manner, in which this ſecond confederacy commenced; and what were the cities which laid the firſt foundation of that Eſtabliſhment, which has ſubſiſted even to the preſent times: and in the ſecond place, that the ſtate and real circumſtances of the facts themſelves might declare the truth of what we have affirmed, concerning the genius and the ſpirit of the Achæan Commonwealth. For from theſe it will be evident, that that Equality and Liberty, upon which the Republick firſt was founded, have been the chief cauſes of it's great increaſe. To which we may alſo add, the conſtancy and unſhaken reſolution, with which they never ceaſe to wage perpetual war againſt all thoſe who, either by their own power, or with the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring Kings, attempt to force their cities into ſlavery. Upon theſe principles, and by this conduct, they brought their work to it's deſired perfection: uſing partly their own ſtrength, and partly that of their Allies. For all the aſſiſtance, which they received afterwards from theſe, was applied ſolely to promote the grand purpoſe of their government. And even after thoſe great exploits, which they performed jointly with the Romans, they were not in the leaſt ambitious of obtaining any private advantage to themſelves; nor ever claimed any other reward for all their ſervices, than the eſtabliſhment of the common liberty, in the union of all the States of Peloponneſus. The truth of theſe remarks will, I ſay, be confirmed beyond all doubt, by the recital of the facts.

The cities, which we have juſt now mentioned, remained under this form of government during the courſe of twenty-five years: in which time, they elected annually two Prætors, and a common Secretary. But afterwards, they choſe to place the whole adminiſtration in one ſingle Prætor. The firſt who obtained that honour, was Marcus of Carynia. Four years after this Prætorſhip, Aratus the Sicyonian, though he was

then no more than twenty years old, by his bravery and courage gave liberty to his country, and joined it to the Achæan League; for he had always greatly admired the conſtitution of this Republick. Eight years afterwards, being himſelf elected Prætor of the Achæans for the ſecond time, he found means to take Acrocorinthus by ſurprize, in which Antigonus had then a garriſon. By gaining this important place, he delivered all the people of Peloponneſus from no ſmall apprehenſions; reſtored the Corinthians to their liberty; and engaged them to become a part of the Achæan Government. In the courſe of the ſame year, he made himſelf maſter of the city of Megara by ſome ſecret management, and joined it likewiſe to the confederacy. This was the year before the final defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily; which forced them to abandon all the Iſland, and pay a Tribute to the Romans. Thus Aratus in a ſhort time greatly enlarged the growing power of the Achæans: and ever afterwards, as long as he was employed in the adminiſtration of their affairs, his conduct was uniform and conſtant, and never deviated from the points which he had at firſt in view: to drive the Macedonians out of Peloponneſus; to deſtroy the Tyrants every where; and reſtore to the people all their natural rights, and that common liberty which their anceſtors had before enjoyed.

During the lifetime of Antigonus Gonatas, it was a taſk of no ſmall difficulty, to reſiſt on one hand the intrigues and artful policy of that Prince, and the rapaciouſneſs and bold ambition of the Ætolians on the other. For theſe two Powers had advanced ſo far together in their unjuſt attempts, that they even formed the project of a league, for the intire deſtruction of the Achæans. But Aratus, by his wiſdom and indefatigable pains, effectually broke and fruſtrated the deſign.

After the death of this Prince, the Achæans entered into a treaty of alliance with the Ætolians, and aſſiſted them in the war againſt Demetrius. By this compliance, all paſt jealouſies were removed: and their former enmity gave place to confidence and friendſhip. When Demetrius was alſo dead, after a reign of ten years only, and about the time in which the Romans firſt paſſed into Illyria, the Achæans found this conjuncture to be highly favourable to them for advancing their deſigns. For all the Tyrants of Peloponneſus were now diſheartened, and diffident of their future ſafety. They had loſt their Maſter and their Chief: the Sovereign, by whom they were ſupported and maintained in pay. On the other hand, Aratus urged them cloſe: and ſhewed his reſolution to aboliſh every Tyranny. He promiſed great rewards and honours to thoſe that would voluntarily ſubmit: and threatened ruin and extreme puniſhment to all ſuch as ſhould refuſe. By theſe means they were all engaged to diveſt themſelves of the Royal power; to reſtore liberty to their ſeveral cities; and to unite them to the Achæan League. Lyſiadas, the Tyrant of Megalopolis, whoſe wiſe diſcernment taught him to foreſee what would ſhortly happen, had reſigned his dignity, and joined his country to the Republick, even in the lifetime of Demetrius. His example was now followed by Ariſtomachus, the Tyrant of Argos: and by Xeno and Cleonymus, the Tyrants of the Hermionians and Phliaſians.

The Ætolians, who were by nature rapacious and unjuſt, could not behold without envy this great increaſe of the Achæan power and ſtrength. They began to flatter themſelves with ſecret hopes of breaking the Confederacy, and enriching themſelves with the ſpoil. As they had formerly ſhared with Alexander the towns of Acarnania, and had afterwards formed the project of dividing alſo between Antigonus Gonatas and themſelves the cities of Achaia, they were now perſuaded, that it would be no hard taſk to carry into

execution this laſt deſign. With this view, they reſolved to concert the matter firſt in private with Antigonus, the Guardian of young Philip, and with Cleomenes King of Lacedæmon, and to demand aſſiſtance from thoſe Princes. They knew, that Antigonus at this time governed Macedon in full ſecurity; and that he was the declared and open enemy of the Achæans, becauſe they had taken Acrocorinthus from him by ſurprize. They imagined therefore, that if they could once inſpire the Lacedæmonians with the ſame hoſtile diſpoſition, and engage them into this deſign, the Achæans, attacked at once on every ſide as occaſion ſhould direct, muſt neceſſarily ſink beneath the efforts of their united forces. In truth, the proſpect of ſucceſs ſeemed very fair and promiſing. But in concerting this project, one circumſtance of great moment was forgot. For it never once occurred to their reflection, that Aratus was the man, who was to oppoſe all their meaſures, and counteract their motions: a man, whoſe abilities were ſuperior to every difficulty. And indeed ſo effectually did he oppoſe them, defeating all their counſels, and turning their projects to their own deſtruction, that this unjuſt and unprovoked attack, inſtead of accompliſhing any part of that which was intended from it, ſerved only to give new life and vigour to the Achæan Commonwealth. We ſhall give a diſtinct and clear account of the manner in which the whole was then conducted.

When Aratus ſaw, that the Ætolians were reſtrained by ſhame, from declaring themſelves the open enemies of the Achæans, from whom they had received great ſervices in the war againſt Demetrius; yet that they were acting in private concert with the Lacedæmonians, and had ſuffered their jealouſy, and their hatred of the Achæans, to carry them to ſuch exceſs, that when Cleomenes had taken by ſurprize Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenus, which were at that time not only in alliance with the Ætolians, but aſſociated alſo to their government,

government, they not only ſhewed no reſentment of this inſult, but even yielded to him the full poſſeſſion of thoſe cities; when he ſaw, that a Nation, whoſe character it was to declare war upon the ſlighteſt pretexts, even againſt thoſe from whom they had received no wrong, was now on a ſudden ſo much changed, that they not only bore with patience an attack made upon them in direct breach of treaties, but were even content to give up all their claim to three cities of importance, that by means of this new ſtrength Cleomenes might be able to maintain the war againſt the Achæans: when Aratus, I ſay, and the reſt of the Chiefs of the Republick, had fully conſidered and debated all theſe circumſtances, the reſult of their deliberations was, that they would not yet take arms avowedly againſt any power, but only hold themſelves in readineſs to oppoſe all attempts that ſhould be made againſt them. This was their firſt determination. But ſome time afterwards, when Cleomenes had built the Fortreſs, called Athenæum, in the Megalopolitan territory, and began to act againſt them in a hoſtile manner without reſerve, the Achæans then called a general Council, and it was there reſolved, that war ſhould be declared againſt the Lacedæmonians.

Such was the beginning of that which is called the Cleomenic War. The Achæans at firſt deſigned to employ their own proper forces only, in defence of their State and country. For it ſeemed leſs honourable, to owe their ſafety to a foreign army: and they were willing alſo to preſerve the friendſhip of King Ptolemy; to whom they were indebted for many favours; and who on that account might perhaps ſhew ſome reſentment, if they now invited any other power to their aſſiſtance. But as the war began to advance faſt upon them, and was preſſed with equal vigour and dexterity by Cleomenes, who had ſubverted the lawful conſtitution of his country, and eſtabliſhed a Tyranny in Sparta, Aratus, having carefully weighed the danger, and made due reflection alſo upon

upon the daring ſpirit, and malicious diſpoſition of the Ætolians, perceived that it was neceſſary to have recourſe in time to ſome expedient, which might divert the fatal conſequences that were in view. In this deſign, he turned his eyes towards Antigonus, whom he knew to be a Prince of perfect judgement and experience; at all times ready to make alliances, as occaſion ſhould require; and punctual in obſerving them when made. But he remembered alſo, that Kings naturally bear neither enmity nor friendſhip towards any; but are in both determined by the rule of intereſt alone. He reſolved therefore to explain at large to Antigonus the dangers that would probably ariſe, even againſt himſelf, from the preſent ſituation of affairs in Greece; and endeavour by that means to draw him from his party, and engage him to join his forces with the Achæans. It was requiſite however, that he ſhould keep this reſolution for ſome time ſecret. For he knew, that if it ſhould be once diſcovered, Cleomenes and the Ætolians would employ every art to defeat his purpoſe. He was apprehenſive alſo, that it might too much depreſs the courage of his countrymen, if he ſhould ſeem to deſpair of ſaving the Republick by it's own genuine forces: and more eſpecially, if he ſhould now apply for ſuccour to the Macedonians, whom they always had regarded as their enemies. In the conduct therefore of this whole deſign, he was forced to employ the greateſt ſecrecy and caution; and both to ſpeak and act, in a manner very oppoſite to his real ſentiments. And from hence it happens, that many circumſtances, which relate to this tranſaction, are omitted in his Memoirs.

When he ſaw then, that the Megalopolitans were the firſt and greateſt ſufferers in the war, both becauſe their country lay neareſt to Lacedæmon, and becauſe the Achæans were themſelves too much embarraſſed to ſend the ſuccours to them that were neceſſary; when he conſidered alſo, that this people were already favourably diſpoſed towards the Houſe of Macedon,

cedon, on account of ſome good offices which they had received from Philip the ſon of Amyntas; he made no doubt, but that as ſoon as the war ſhould become too heavy for their ſtrength, they would immediately have recourſe to Antigonus and the Macedonians. He ſent therefore for Nicophanes and Cercidas; two Megalopolitans, who had formerly been connected with his family by the ties of hoſpitality; and who by their abilities were very capable of promoting his deſign. To theſe he privately diſcloſed his project: and, through their means, ſoon afterwards engaged the Megalopolitans to ſend ſome deputies to the Achæan States, requeſting their permiſſion to invite Antigonus to their aſſiſtance. Nicophanes and Cercidas were themſelves appointed for the embaſſy: and their inſtructions were, to proceed without delay to the court of Macedon, in caſe that the Achæans ſhould approve of the deſign.

The Achæans yielded their conſent: and the deputies began their journey without delay, and were admitted to a conference with the King. With reſpect to their own particular country, they ſpoke in a few words only, what the occaſion ſeemed barely to require. But they enlarged more copiouſly upon the general ſituation of affairs in Greece; according to the inſtructions, which they had received in private from Aratus. They explained the views of the Ætolians and Cleomenes; ſhewed the tendency of their deſigns; and warned the King of the fatal conſequences, that were likely to reſult from this confederacy. For though the Achæans only were moſt imminently threatened, yet the danger muſt at laſt extend even to Antigonus himſelf. It was clear to every judgement, that the Achæans could not long maintain their ground, againſt the efforts of two ſo powerful enemies. Nor was it leſs clear and evident, that Cleomenes and the Ætolians, would never be contented with the conqueſt of the Achæans only. For ſuch was the diſpoſition of the Ætolians, that the bounds not only of Peloponneſus, but even

of

of Greece itſelf, would be thought too narrow for their rapaciouſneſs and wild ambition. And though the whole deſign and purpoſe of Cleomenes ſeemed at preſent to aim at nothing more, than the ſupreme command in Peloponneſus, yet when this ſhould be once obtained, there was no room to doubt, but that he would immediately enlarge his views, and endeavour to ſeize the ſovereignty of the reſt of Greece; at which he could never arrive, but by the ruin of the Macedonian Monarchy. They therefore adviſed the King, to turn his thoughts upon the future: and to conſider with himſelf, whether it would not be far more ſuited to his intereſts, to join his forces with the Achæans and Bœotians, and contend with Cleomenes in Peloponneſus for the ſupreme command of Greece, than, by neglecting at this time to ſave a great and powerful nation, to be forced at laſt to maintain a war in the very heart of Theſſaly, and defend his own proper kingdom, againſt the united forces of the Ætolians and Bœotians, the Lacedæmonians and Achæans. They farther added, that if the Ætolians, ſoftened by the remembrance of the ſervices which they had received from the Achæans in the war againſt Demetrius, ſhould forbear to take arms againſt them, they would themſelves ſtand ſingly againſt the efforts of Cleomenes, and ſhould want no foreign ſuccours, unleſs the fortune of the war ſhould prove in all points contrary to their hopes. But in caſe that the ſucceſs ſhould fail to anſwer their endeavours, or the Ætolians declare themſelves their enemies, they then earneſtly beſought Antigonus, that he would interpoſe without delay, and give ſafety to the States of Peloponneſus, while there was yet time to ſave them. With regard to any terms of caution and ſecurity, they aſſured the King, that Aratus would take care to find ſuch expedients, as ſhould fully ſatisfy all parties: and that he would ſend him notice alſo of the time, in which it would be ſeaſonable for him to begin his march to their aſſiſtance.

Antigonus

Antigonus was convinced that this kind of reaſoning was perfectly juſt and ſolid; and began to apply his whole attention to the affairs that were before him. He ſent letters to the Megalopolitans, aſſuring them that he was ready to aſſiſt them with his forces, in caſe that the Achæans ſhould approve of the deſign.

When Nicophanes and Cercidas were returned, and had delivered the letters, and made report of the favourable inclinations of the king, the Megalopolitans, being greatly pleaſed with their ſucceſs, ſent in all haſte to the Council of the Achæans, and preſſed them to invite Antigonus without delay, and leave to him the whole conduct of the war. Aratus likewiſe, when he had heard in private from Nicophanes of the diſpoſition which the king had ſhewn with reſpect both to the Achæans and himſelf, was beyond meaſure filled with joy. He now perceived, that he had not beſtowed his pains upon a vain or fruitleſs project: and that Antigonus was by no means ſo intirely alienated from him, as the Ætolians had believed. He judged it alſo to be a moſt happy circumſtance, that the Megalopolitans, in referring to Antigonus the care of their affairs, had reſolved to uſe the mediation of the Achæan States. For his firſt wiſh was, that there might be no want at all of foreign ſuccours. But if neceſſity ſhould force them to have recourſe to any ſuch aſſiſtance, he rather choſe, that the application ſhould be made by all the States of Achaia, than by himſelf. For there ſeemed to be ſome cauſe to fear, that if Antigonus, when he had firſt ſubdued the Lacedæmonians and Cleomenes, ſhould engage in any ill deſigns againſt the Republick of the Achæans, the blame would all be imputed to Him alone: ſince all men would conſider ſuch a conduct as the effect of a juſt reſentment, for the injury that had been done to the Macedonians by Aratus, in taking Acrocorinthus from them. When the Megalopolitans therefore had ſhewn the Letters in the Council of the Achæans, and conjured them to

invite Antigonus to their aſſiſtance without delay; and when the people began to declare aloud their readineſs to comply with this requeſt; Aratus came forwards in the Aſſembly, and ſpoke largely in praiſe of the zeal and good inclinations of Antigonus, and commended alſo the diſpoſition of the people. But he exhorted them in the moſt earneſt and pathetick manner, "to employ in the firſt place their utmoſt efforts, and endeavour by every expedient, to defend their cities and their country, by their own genuine forces: that both their honour and their intereſt required it from them: And in caſe that fortune ſhould fail to give ſucceſs to their endeavours, that it would then be early enough to implore the aſſiſtance of their friends, when they had firſt been forced to abandon all hopes of ſafety from themſelves."

Theſe ſentiments were applauded by the whole Aſſembly. They reſolved therefore to adhere to this opinion, and ſuſtain the war alone. But ſome time afterwards, when King Ptolemy, being perſuaded that the Lacedæmonians would be able to aſſiſt him more effectually than the Achæans in the deſigns which he had formed againſt the Kings of Macedon, had rejected the alliance of the Achæans, and engaged to furniſh Cleomenes with ſuch ſupplies, as might enable him to carry on the war againſt Antigonus; when the Achæans had been ſurprized by Cleomenes upon their march, and ſuffered great loſs near Lycæum; when they had alſo been a ſecond time defeated in the Laodician Plains near Megalopolis, in which action Leuſiadas was ſlain; and laſtly, when they had ſuffered a complete and dreadful overthrow in a general engagement, at a place called Hecatombæum in the Dymean territory; their affairs were then ſo deſperate, that, without any new delay, they with one voice agreed to invite Antigonus to their aſſiſtance. Aratus ſent his own ſon to the King, to ſettle the terms of their agreement. But there was one point, which cauſed no ſmall embarraſſment. It was not probable, that

Antigonus would march to their relief, unleſs Acrocorinthus ſhould be firſt reſtored; and the city of Corinth likewiſe yielded to him for his Place of Arms. But the Achæans would not venture to ſurrender Corinth, without the conſent of the inhabitants. Some little delay was therefore made in their deliberations; till an expedient could be found, and ſuch ſureties offered, as might ſatisfy the King.

In the mean time Cleomenes, having ſpread great terror every where by thoſe victories that have now been mentioned, advanced at leiſure through the country; drawing the cities to ſubmiſſion, ſome by gentle means, and ſome by force. In this manner he gained Caphyæ, Pellene, Pheneum, Argos, Phlius, Cleone, Epidaurus, Hermiona, Trœzen, and laſtly Corinth; and then went and incamped before Sicyon. Happily theſe rapid conqueſts freed the Achæans from that great difficulty, which had obſtructed all their meaſures. For no ſooner had the inhabitants of Corinth commanded all the Achæans to leave the city, and ſent a deputation to Cleomenes to invite him to take poſſeſſion of it, than Aratus, having now obtained a fair and honeſt pretext, ſurrendered Acrocorinthus to Antigonus. Thus he wiped away at once all remembrance of his former offence againſt the Houſe of Macedon; gave a ſtrong aſſurance of the ſincerity of his intentions, with regard to the preſent Treaty; and furniſhed the Macedonians with a commodious Place of Arms for the approaching war.

CHAP. IV.

AS ſoon as Cleomenes heard, that the Achæans had concluded a treaty with Antigonus, he marched from before Sicyon, and incamped upon the Iſthmus. He caſt up an intrenchment round all the ſpace that lay between Acrocorinthus and the Onian mountains: and perſuaded himſelf,

that he was now ſecure of obtaining the ſovereignty of Peloponneſus.

Antigonus had long ago completed all his preparations, and waited only for the proper time of action, as Aratus had adviſed. But when he ſaw the rapid progreſs of Cleomenes, he began to apprehend, that this Prince would ſoon advance, and attack him even in the very heart of Theſſaly. He ſent word therefore to the Achæans, that they ſhould be punctual in the execution of the meaſures that had been concerted; and himſelf began his march with the army towards the Iſthmus, through Eubœa. For the Ætolians, among other expedients which they contrived to prevent Antigonus from lending any aſſiſtance to the Achæans, had ſent him notice, that his army ſhould have no paſſage through Thermopylæ; and in caſe he ſhould attempt to march that way, that they would oppoſe him by force of arms.

While Antigonus and Cleomenes lay in oppoſite camps upon the Iſthmus, the one watching his opportunity to paſs into Peloponneſus, the other ready to oppoſe his entrance, the Achæans, though much weakened by their loſſes, ſtill maintained their courage, and reſolved to purſue the war with vigour. And when Ariſtotle, a citizen of Argos, had formed a party in the place againſt Cleomenes, they immediately ſent away Timoxenus with a body of forces, who made themſelves maſters of the city. This happy accident gave inſtantly a new face to their affairs. For ſo effectually did it depreſs the ardour of Cleomenes, and damp the courage of his army, that though this General was poſſeſſed of all the advantageous poſts, and furniſhed with ſupplies of every kind in greater abundance than Antigonus; though he was far more bold and enterprizing than that Prince, and more ſtrongly animated by the love of glory; yet no ſooner had he received the news that Argos was taken by the Achæans, than he at once abandoned all his conqueſts, and rather fled, than retreated, homewards;

wards; as if he had feared, that the enemy would ſoon ſurround him on every ſide. In his way, he found means to enter Argos, and for ſome time had hopes of recovering the city; but was at laſt repulſed. For as the Achæans maintained their poſt with courage, ſo the inhabitants eſpecially reſiſted with a more than common force and obſtinacy; as if they had deſigned to make atonement for their paſt offence, in having embraced his party. When this attempt had failed, he continued his route through Mantinea, and returned again to Sparta.

Antigonus now entered Peloponneſus without reſiſtance; took poſſeſſion of Acrocorinthus; and advanced with great celerity to Argos: from whence, when he had firſt beſtowed high commendations upon the courage of the inhabitants, and ſettled the affairs of the city, he continued his march towards Arcadia. He drove out the garriſons from all the forts that had been built by Cleomenes, in the territory of the Ægians and Belminates, and filled them with the troops of Megalopolis. He went afterwards to Ægium; and was preſent in the Council of the Achæan States. He there ſhewed at large the motives of his conduct; propoſed his ſentiments with regard to the future operations of the war: and was declared the General in chief of the Allies.

After ſome time ſpent in winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Sicyon and Corinth, as the ſpring now advanced, he again began his march with the forces, and arrived in three days before Tegea: and being joined there by the Achæans, he immediately inveſted the town. The ſiege was puſhed by the Macedonians with ſo much vigour, as well by mining as by the other methods of attack, that the inhabitants in a ſhort time loſt all hope, and ſubmitted at diſcretion. Antigonus, having ſecured the place by a ſufficient garriſon, advanced in haſte towards Laconia. When he approached the frontiers, he engaged the Lacedæmonians, who were there encamped,

camped, in ſome light ſkirmiſhes, hoping to draw on a general battle. But having received notice by his Spies, that the garriſon of Orchomenus had retired from the place and joined Cleomenes, he immediately decamped, and directing his march that way, took the town in the firſt aſſault. He next laid ſiege to Mantinea, which was ſtruck with terror, and ſurrendered. Marching from thence, he gained Heræa and Telphuſſa, which were yielded voluntarily to him by the inhabitants; and afterwards, as the ſummer now was paſt, returned again to Ægium, to be preſent at the Council of the States. He ſent away the Macedonians, to take their winter quarters in their own country: while himſelf ſtaid behind at Ægium; to deliberate with the Achæans on the meaſures that were proper to be purſued.

When Cleomenes ſaw, that the Macedonians were diſmiſſed, and that Antigonus was left in Ægium with only the mercenary troops; that he was diſtant full three days journey from Megalopolis; that this city, on account both of it's great extent, and the ſmall number of the inhabitants, could not eaſily be guarded againſt an enemy; that at this time eſpecially, it actually was guarded with leſs attention than before, becauſe Antigonus was near; and that the greater part of the citizens, who were of age to bear arms, had been already loſt, in the engagements near Lycæum and the Laodician Plains, he found means, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Meſſenian Exiles who at that time reſided in the place, to enter the city privately by night. But when day appeared, the inhabitants maintained their ground with ſo much bravery, that he found himſelf in the greateſt danger, not only of being forced back again with loſs, but of ſuffering an entire defeat: as it had happened to him about three months before, when he made the ſame attempt, and entered the city in the part that was called Colæum. At this time however, as his forces were very numerous, and had ſeized on all the advantageous poſts, he at laſt

laſt accompliſhed his deſign: drove out the Megalopolitans; and made himſelf maſter of the place: which he immediately pillaged and deſtroyed with ſo much bitterneſs of rage and fury, as left no hope, that it ever could again be inhabited. This ſevere treatment ſeems to have flowed from no other cauſe than the mere reſentment of Cleomenes: who was enraged to find, that among all the Megalopolitans and Stymphalians, not one could be prevailed upon at this conjuncture to embrace his intereſts, and betray the liberties of his fellow-citizens. Among the Clitorians indeed, a generous people, and paſſionately fond of freedom, there was found a ſingle traitor, named Thearces, whoſe baſeneſs ſeemed to caſt ſome infamy upon his country. But the Clitorians upon that account very reaſonably deny, that he derived his birth from them: and declare him to have been the ſpurious and deſerted offspring of a ſoldier from Orchomenus.

In compoſing this part of my Hiſtory, as I have chiefly followed Aratus for my guide, and drawn my materials from him, and as many perſons are inclined to prefer Phylarchus, who gives a very different account of theſe tranſactions, I think it neceſſary to beſtow in this place ſome little obſervation upon the talents and capacity of this Hiſtorian; that his Relations, which indeed are fabulous and falſe, may no longer poſſeſs that credit, which ought only to be paid to thoſe that are genuine and true.

This Writer then, through every part of his performance, has ſhewn abundant proofs of haſte, inaccuracy, want of judgement and diſcernment. But it is not my deſign to enter into a critical examination of them all. I ſhall at preſent conſider his accounts of thoſe tranſactions only, which fall within the period of the Cleomenic War. And theſe indeed will be ſufficient, not only to explain his ſentiments, and the temper with which he wrote, but to ſhew alſo in what degree he

he was poſſeſſed of thoſe abilities that are requiſite for ſuch an undertaking.

In order to expoſe the cruelty of Antigonus and the Macedonians, and of Aratus and the Achæans, he relates, that the Mantineans, after they had been conquered by them, were puniſhed in a manner the moſt ſevere: and that the largeſt and moſt ancient City of all Arcadia was condemned to ſtruggle with ſuch calamities, as filled the Greeks with aſtoniſhment and horror, and melted them into tears. He then endeavours to move his readers to compaſſion, and force them even to feel the ſufferings which he relates: ſetting in view before them the companies of unhappy women, joining together in embraces, ſtriking their bare boſoms, and tearing their diſheveled hair: and deſcribing the lamentations and the tears of huſbands and their wives, who, together with their children and their aged parents, were dragged away in promiſcuous crouds to ſlavery. Thus it is that in every part of his Work, his chief pains and art are conſtantly employed in painting ſcenes of miſery and horror. But ſurely there is no need to uſe many words, to explode a kind of writing ſo mean and womaniſh. Let us conſider rather, what is the genuine and proper character, and what the peculiar uſe, of Hiſtory.

An Hiſtorian then, inſtead of endeavouring, like the writers of Tragedy, to ſtrike the reader with admiration or with terror, inſtead of dreſſing up probable ſpeeches, and enumerating all the circumſtances that might poſſibly have followed after every accident, ſhould be ſatisfied with giving a bare relation of ſuch facts and diſcourſes as really happened, though perhaps they may contain nothing great or elevated. For the nature and deſign of Tragedy are very different from thoſe of Hiſtory. The buſineſs of the former is, to ſtrike and captivate the minds of the hearers for the preſent moment, by ſuch repreſentations as are barely probable: whereas Hiſtory profeſſes

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to give leſſons of improvement even to future times, by relating ſuch diſcourſes and events as are ſtrictly true. In the one therefore, the Probable, though falſe, may be ſufficient to conduct us to the end in view, which is amuſement and delight: but the other, whoſe proper work is to convey inſtruction, muſt be always built on truth.

In recounting all theſe diſmal accidents, Phylarchus is for the moſt part ſilent alſo with reſpect to the cauſe and motives by which they were occaſioned. And yet, unleſs we are previouſly informed of theſe, it is not poſſible to know whether the caſe can reaſonably lay claim either to our indignation or our pity. It is, for inſtance, a lamentable ſpectacle, to ſee a free man whipped with rods. But when this is the proper puniſhment of his crimes, it muſt be allowed to have happened juſtly to him: and whenever it is done for the ſake of diſcipline and reformation, we even applaud thoſe perſons who inflict it. To take away the life of a citizen, is conſidered as a moſt horrid crime, and ſuch as calls for the ſevereſt vengeance. Yet a man may openly deſtroy an adulterer or a robber, without any fear of being puniſhed for it. And thoſe who reſcue their country from a traitor or a tyrant, are even thought worthy of the greateſt honours. It is manifeſt therefore, that in order to paſs a perfect judgement on any action, inſtead of barely contemplating the act itſelf, we ſhould examine the cauſes that produced it, together with the intention and the views of thoſe by whom it was done: for, agreeably to the difference that is found in theſe, the action will be likewiſe different.

With regard to the fact which occaſioned theſe reflections, the truth is as follows. The Mantineans, without any provocation or excuſe, had deſerted the Achæan Confederacy, and delivered up their country and themſelves, firſt to the Ætolians, and afterwards to Cleomenes, and were joined by him to the Lacedæmonian State. In theſe circumſtances,

about four years before the arrival of Antigonus, they were conquered by the Achæans, with the aſſiſtance of a party that Aratus had gained within the city. But ſo far were they from being expoſed at this time to any ſevere or cruel treatment in reſentment of their offence, that on the contrary all Greece talked loudly of the ſudden change which ſeemed to have been effected in the diſpoſition of theſe people towards each other. For when Aratus had made himſelf maſter of the city, he ſtrictly forbad his ſoldiers to touch any of the goods of the inhabitants. And having afterwards called the people together, he exhorted them to reſume their courage, and remain ſatisfied in their preſent ſtate: for that as long as they would conſider themſelves as a part of the Achæan Government, they might live in perfect freedom and ſecurity. An indulgence ſo unexpected, and which ſo far exceeded all their hopes, changed at once the inclinations of the Mantineans. They no longer remembered the friends whom they had loſt in battle, or the dangers to which themſelves had been expoſed: but embraced the Achæans, who ſo lately were their enemies; admitted them to their houſes and their feaſts; and ſtrove to expreſs their joy by every act of hoſpitality and kindneſs. And this indeed was highly reaſonable. For certainly no people ever fell into the hands of a more merciful or more generous enemy: or eſcaped, with ſo little difficulty, from thoſe calamities that are eſteemed the greateſt in human life. A happineſs, which they entirely owed to the humanity of Aratus and the Achæans.

Some time afterwards, this people, being diſturbed by ſome inteſtine tumults, and apprehenſive alſo of ſome danger from the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians, requeſted from the Achæans a garriſon for their ſecurity. The Achæans choſe by lot three hundred of their own citizens: who all left their country and their fortunes, and went and reſided in Mantinea, to watch over the liberties and ſafety of that city. They

added alſo to them a body of two hundred mercenaries. But the Mantineans not long afterwards, taking occaſion from ſome new diſſenſions which broke out among them, called in the Lacedæmonians, delivered their city to them, and killed all the Achæans that were in the place. A perfidy, more horrible and impious, than can be well expreſſed. For though they had reſolved to diſclaim the friendſhip of the Achæans, and forget all the favours which they had received from their Republick, yet they ought at leaſt to have ſent home unhurt thoſe troops which they had before admitted as Allies: ſince by the laws of nations, this indulgence is always granted even to an enemy. But the Mantineans reſolved to violate theſe laws; inſult the common rights of mankind; and perpetrate an inexpiable crime; that by ſuch a conduct, they might be able more ſtrongly to aſſure Cleomenes of their zeal and cloſe attachment to his cauſe. This action ſurely might in juſtice draw after it the heavieſt reſentment. To embrue their hands in the blood of thoſe, by whom themſelves, when they had fallen into their power not long before, were diſmiſſed with pardon; and who at this very moment were employed in defending the liberties and ſafety of their city: what, let me aſk, would have been the proper puniſhment for ſuch a crime? It will perhaps be ſaid, that as ſoon as they were conquered, they ſhould have been ſold for ſlaves together with their wives and children. But this is no more than what is uſually permitted by the laws of war, even againſt thoſe who have not been guilty of any uncommon wickedneſs. The Mantineans therefore deſerved to be treated in ſome more rigorous manner. And if they had even been involved in all that wretchedneſs which is deſcribed at large by Phylarchus, it would have been ſo far from exciting the Greeks to ſympathy and compaſſion, that on the contrary they muſt have applauded thoſe, who took care not to leave ſo great a crime unpuniſhed. But in truth, the whole which they ſuffered was, that their

goods were pillaged, and the citizens expoſed to ſale. It is clear therefore, that Phylarchus, in order to ſurprize and ſtrike the reader, has invented not only a mere heap of falſehoods, but ſuch falſehoods too, as bear not any ſhew of probability; while, through an exceſs of ignorance, he makes no mention of a fact that was coincident with that which he relates, and which might very properly have been connected with it. For when the Achæans, at this very time, had taken the town of Tegea by ſtorm, they uſed none of the ſame ſeverity towards the inhabitants. Yet if the ſufferings of the Mantineans had been the bare effect of a cruel diſpoſition in their enemies, it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the people of Tegea would have been treated alſo with equal rigour. But as the Mantineans alone were puniſhed with ſeverity, it is manifeſt beyond all doubt, that the conduct of the Achæans muſt of neceſſity be aſcribed to ſome other cauſe.

In another place he relates, that Ariſtomachus, a man of an illuſtrious family, deſcended from a line of Tyrants, and who was himſelf Tyrant of Argos, having fallen alive into the hands of Antigonus and the Achæans, was conducted to Cenchreæ, and there put to death in tortures the moſt mercileſs and cruel, that ever were inflicted upon man. And then, after his uſual manner, he goes on to deſcribe the loud and moving lamentations of the unhappy ſufferer, which were heard at midnight through all the neighbourhood: that ſome were ſtruck with horror; while ſome doubted of the fact; and that others, inflamed with indignation, ran in crouds towards the houſe from whence the cries proceeded. But let us paſs over theſe ſcenes of terror and amazement, which have already been ſufficiently expoſed. In my judgement then, though Ariſtomachus had been guilty of no offence againſt the Achæans, the whole tenor of his life, and the wicked tyranny which he had exerciſed upon his country, might very deſervedly have drawn upon him the ſevereſt puniſhment. Yet

Yet Phylarchus, with deſign to throw a greater ſplendour on his character, and more effectually to raiſe the indignation of the reader, declares, not only that he was himſelf a Tyrant, but that he was deſcended alſo from a race of Tyrants: an accuſation in itſelf the heavieſt, that can be well conceived. For the very name of Tyrant includes the full extent of wickedneſs; and implies the commiſſion of every kind of crime which man can perpetrate. But in truth if he had been forced to ſuffer the moſt cruel puniſhment, as this Hiſtorian relates, he never could have made by it a due atonement for the tranſactions of one ſingle day: the day, when Aratus entered Argos with a body of Achæans, and glorioufly exerted all his efforts to reſtore liberty to the city; but was forced at laſt to retire, becauſe his party within the walls were reſtrained from joining him, through apprehenſion of the Tyrant. For Ariſtomachus, on pretence that the inhabitants were ſecretly engaged in the deſign, and had favoured the entrance of the Achæans, ſeized eighty of the chief among the citizens, and cauſed them to be put to death in torture, even before the eyes of their friends and families.

I forbear to relate the whole of his flagitious life, with the crimes which his anceſtors before him had committed. The taſk would be too tedious. If at laſt then he was forced to ſuffer in ſome degree that cruel treatment which he had practiſed againſt others, this ſurely cannot be eſteemed too ſevere or ſhocking. It ſhould rather raiſe our indignation, if ſuch a man had died, without being firſt expoſed to any kind of vengeance or calamity. Nor ought it to be cenſured as an inſtance of injuſtice in Antigonus and Aratus, that when they had fairly taken him in war, they put him to death in torture; ſince if they had treated him with the ſame ſeverity even during the time of peace, the action muſt have been applauded by all men of ſenſe.

But if, beſides his other crimes, he was guilty likewiſe of

of the worſt ingratitude and perfidy towards the Achæans, what puniſhment will he then be thought to have deſerved? Yet this was in truth the fact. For when the death of Demetrius had left him naked and defenceleſs, ſo that he was conſtrained to lay down his ſovereignty, he found, beyond all his hopes, a ſafe and honourable refuge in the generous clemency of the Achæans: who not only covered him from the puniſhment that was due to his paſt Tyranny, but received him into their Republick, and even yielded to him the greateſt honours of the State: for he was raiſed to be their General and Prætor. But no ſooner had he conceived ſome hopes of recovering again his former fortune by the aſſiſtance of Cleomenes, than he forgot at once all the kindneſs that had been ſhewn towards him; ſeparated his country from the Confederacy; and joined himſelf to the enemy, at the very time when the Achæans were in greateſt want of his aſſiſtance. After ſuch a baſeneſs, inſtead of being put to a cruel death by night at Cenchreæ, as Phylarchus relates, he ſhould rather have been led through all the towns of Peloponneſus, expoſed to every kind of torture and indignity, and afterwards have been deprived of life. But in truth, this man, after all his wickedneſs, was only thrown into the ſea, for ſome crimes that he committed during his ſtay at Cenchreæ.

This Hiſtorian ſeems to have been perſuaded, that acts of violence or injuſtice were thoſe which chiefly merited his attention. Hence it is that he exaggerates, and relates in the fulleſt and moſt pathetick manner, the ſufferings of the Mantineans; but makes no mention of that glorious firmneſs, which appeared in the conduct of the Megalopolitans at this conjuncture. As if Hiſtory ſhould rather be employed in deſcribing bad actions, than thoſe that are laudable and virtuous: or that the reader would find leſs matter of inſtruction, in ſuch examples as deſerve to be admired and imitated, than in thoſe which are fit only to be deteſted and avoided. In his account

account of the taking of Megalopolis, he relates, that Cleomenes not only preſerved the town from being pillaged, but ſent letters alſo to the Megalopolitans, who had retired to Meſſene, and offered to reſtore their city to them, on condition only that they would embrace his intereſts. And this is done, with deſign to extol the magnanimity of Cleomenes, and his moderation towards his enemies. He then adds; that the Megalopolitans refuſed to hear the letters to the end, and were hardly reſtrained from ſtoning the meſſengers who brought them. But here his relation is concluded. With reſpect to all that ſhould afterwards have followed, he is entirely ſilent: neglecting the moſt fair occaſion, of performing that which is indeed the peculiar work of Hiſtory: I mean, the taſk of recording a great and noble inſtance of uncommon conſtancy and reſolution, and of recommending it to our praiſe and imitation. For if every publick teſtimony, by which we declare our affection and ſteady zeal for the intereſts of our allies, be eſteemed a thing highly laudable and virtuous; if thoſe, who can ſee their country waſted, or chooſe to ſuſtain the miſeries of a ſiege, rather than deſert their friends, be thought worthy not only of applauſe, but of the greateſt rewards and honours; what then muſt be our opinion of the Megalopolitans? how admirable their conduct; and how great their character? They ſaw their lands laid waſte and pillaged by Cleomenes; and themſelves conſtrained to abandon all their territory, for their attachment to the intereſts of the Achæans. Yet when beyond all hope they might have been again reſtored to their city and former fortunes, they choſe ſtill to be deprived of their eſtates, their ſepulchres, temples, country; the deareſt and moſt valuable poſſeſſions, of all that belong to man; rather than betray that faith, by which they had bound themſelves to their allies. Can any thing be conceived more great and generous, than ſuch a reſolution? Or could any action better have deſerved the attention of an hiſtorian; or have been more proper and effectual to excite his readers,

readers, punctually to obſerve all treaties, and to concur with their allies, in all things that may ſtrengthen their confederacy, and fix their government upon ſolid grounds? But Phylarchus paſſes over the whole in ſilence: blind to merit the moſt illuſtrious; and through want of judgement unable to diſcern, what actions beſt deſerved his notice.

In another place he affirms, that the Lacedæmonians gained a booty of ſix thouſand Talents from the ſpoils of Megalopolis: and that two thouſand of them were, by the cuſtomary diſtribution, allotted to Cleomenes. It muſt ſurely ſeem a matter of ſurprize, that this writer ſhould thus be found to want even that common knowledge, concerning the wealth and abilities of the Greeks, with which every Hiſtorian ſhould eſpecially be acquainted. For, not to ſpeak of thoſe calamitous times, in which the fortunes of this people were continually waſted by their wars againſt the kings of Macedon, and by civil wars among themſelves; I may venture to declare, that even in the preſent age, when they live together in perfect peace and union, and poſſeſs all things in the greateſt plenty, the ſale of all the effects and riches of the whole province of Peloponneſus, the inhabitants alone excepted, would by no means be ſufficient to produce ſo large a ſum. That this is no vain ſurmiſe, but an opinion founded upon truth and reaſon, will moſt evidently appear, if we conſider only the following fact, which is well eſtabliſhed in hiſtory, and ſufficiently known to all. When the Athenians, in conjunction with the Thebans, deſigned to attack the Lacedæmonians, and had raiſed an army of ten thouſand men, with a fleet of a hundred Triremes; in order to defray the expences of the war, it was reſolved to impoſe a tribute, proportioned to the eſtate of every citizen. For this purpoſe, when an eſtimate had been made of all the wealth and goods, the houſes and lands of Attica, the whole was found to amount to no more than five thouſand, ſeven hundred, and fifty Talents. From hence then we may very reaſonably

ſonably collect the truth of what I have affirmed concerning the people of Peloponneſus.

But with regard to the ſpoils of Megalopolis, we never can ſuppoſe with any ſhew of probability, that they exceeded, even at the higheſt valuation, three hundred Talents; ſince it is acknowledged, that the greater part, as well of the ſlaves as free citizens, eſcaped to Meſſene. With reſpect to this opinion likewiſe, the following inſtance muſt be allowed to be deciſive. The Mantineans, both in wealth and number, are confeſſed even by Philarchus himſelf to be inferior to none of the people of Arcadia. Yet when their city was ſurrendered after a ſiege, ſo that not a ſingle perſon could eſcape, nor any part of their effects be eaſily concealed, the whole value of the plunder, with the inhabitants themſelves included, amounted to no greater ſum than that which I have mentioned.

What he afterwards relates, is ſtill more wonderful. That ten days before the action, a meſſenger came from Ptolemy, to acquaint Cleomenes that the King would no longer furniſh money for the war, but adviſed him to make peace with Antigonus: and that Cleomenes, when he had received this meſſage, reſolved immediately to force the enemy to a battle, before the troops ſhould be informed of what had happened; becauſe he was by no means able from his own revenues to ſupport and pay the army. Yet if Cleomenes had ſo lately gained ſix thouſand Talents, he ſurpaſſed even Ptolemy himſelf in wealth. And if he had poſſeſſed three hundred only, he might ſtill have ſuſtained the war againſt Antigonus, without any difficulty or diſtreſs. To affirm therefore, that Cleomenes was maſter of ſo great riches, and at the ſame time to declare, that he depended entirely on King Ptolemy for the neceſſary charges of the war, is a fault ſo groſs, that it betrays the greateſt want of judgement and capacity. Abſurdities of the ſame kind with thoſe that have been mentioned, are every where to be found in this Hiſtorian: not in his accounts of

theſe times only, but in every part of his performance. But theſe, which I have here examined, will be ſufficient for the preſent purpoſe.

CHAP. V.

AFTER the reduction of Megalopolis, and while Antigonus lay in winter quarters in the city of Argos, Cleomenes, having drawn his troops together in the beginning of the Spring, and encouraged them as the occaſion required, immediately began his march, and threw himſelf into the midſt of the Argian territory, with deſign to lay waſte and plunder it. This ſtep was thought by many to be much too bold and hazardous: becauſe the entrance to the country lay through paſſes that were very ſtrong and difficult. But others, of a better judgement, were perſuaded that the attempt was both wiſe and ſafe. For Cleomenes was in the firſt place well aſſured, that as the Macedonian forces were now diſmiſſed, his march into the Province would be perfectly ſecure from danger. He conſidered alſo, that when the inhabitants of Argos ſhould behold the country waſted to their very walls, they would not fail to expreſs their diſcontent by loud clamours againſt Antigonus: that, if this Prince, unable to withſtand the reproaches of the multitude, ſhould draw out his troops and venture on a battle, the Lacedæmonians might be ſure to gain an eaſy victory: and on the other hand, if Antigonus ſhould remain unmoved, and ſtill keep himſelf behind the walls, he hoped at leaſt that the attempt itſelf would ſerve to check the ſpirits of the enemy, and raiſe the courage of his own troops; and that afterwards he might retreat with ſafety. The event fully anſwered all his expectations. The people, enraged to ſee their country ruined, ran together in crouds, and threw out bitter invectives againſt the King. But Antigonus ſupported all their inſults with ſuch ſteadineſs as was worthy

worthy of a General and a Prince: and being determined not to ſuffer any motives to prevail againſt the dictates of ſenſe and reaſon, he remained quiet within the city. Cleomenes therefore, purſuing his deſign, waſted all the country: and having ſtruck the enemy with no ſmall terror, and greatly animated his own troops againſt the future dangers of the war, he returned back to Sparta without any loſs.

On the approach of ſummer, when the Macedonians and Achæans had again taken the field, Antigonus began his march with all the forces, and directed his route towards Laconia. His army was compoſed of a Phalanx of Macedonians, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men: of three thouſand Macedonian Peltaſtæ, and three hundred horſe: one thouſand Agrianians: as many Gauls: of other mercenaries, three thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe: the ſame number of Achæans, all ſelect men: with a thouſand Megalopolitans, armed after the Macedonian manner, and commanded by Cercidas, a citizen of Megalopolis. Among the allies, the Bœotians ſent two thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe: the Epirots, one thouſand Foot, and fifty Horſe: and the Acarnanians, the ſame number. Beſides theſe, there were ſixteen hundred Illyrians, under the command of Demetrius of Pharos. So that the whole army conſiſted of about twenty-eight thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred Horſe.

Cleomenes, in expectation that the enemy would advance towards him, ſecured the other paſſages, by placing guards, cutting down trees, and caſting up intrenchments, and then went and incamped near the place called Selaſia with all his forces, which amounted to twenty thouſand men. For he had rightly judged, that this was the ſide, by which Antigonus would attempt to force his entrance. This Paſs is formed by two mountains, Eva and Olympus. Between them runs the river Oenus; along the banks of which lies the road to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up an intrenchment before theſe

mountains, ſtationed the allies upon mount Eva, under the command of his brother Euclidas; while himſelf took his poſt upon Olympus, with the Lacedæmonians and one part of the mercenaries. The reſt of the mercenaries, together with the Cavalry, were diſpoſed in the plain below, on both ſides of the road, along the river.

When Antigonus arrived, and had ſeen the ſtrength of the poſts in which the enemy were lodged, and that Cleomenes had aſſigned to every part of his army the ſtation that was moſt commodious for it, with ſo true a ſkill and judgement, that the whole, being equally prepared both for attack and for defence, ſeemed not unlike to a company of Gladiators, all ſtanding in their proper attitudes, and ready to engage; in a word, when he had ſeen, not only that the troops were diſpoſed in the moſt advantageous manner to receive an enemy, but that the camp alſo was ſo ſtrong on every ſide, that it could not be attacked without great danger; he reſolved to remain for ſome time quiet, and not yet attempt to draw the enemy to a battle. He fixed his camp therefore at a moderate diſtance from them; having the river Gorgylus in his front.

In this ſituation he remained for ſome days; examining with great attention the nature and the ſituation of the ſeveral poſts, as well as the ſtrength, temper, and condition of the armies. Sometimes, by making a ſhew of having ſome deſign, he alarmed the expectations of the enemy, and made them attentive to his motions. But he ſoon found, that all his arts and ſtratagems were uſeleſs. For ſuch was the care and vigilance of Cleomenes, who was ſtill upon his guard wherever the danger ſeemed to threaten, that every part of the camp was ſecure from inſult. At laſt, theſe Generals, whom nature ſeemed to have formed alike both in ſentiments and courage, agreed by joint conſent to make the experiment of a deciſive action.

To

To the forces that were ſtationed upon mount Eva, Antigonus oppoſed the Macedonians, who were armed with brazen bucklers, and the Illyrians, ranged together in alternate cohorts, and commanded by Alexander the ſon of Acmetus, and by Demetrius of Pharos. The ſecond line was compoſed of the Acarnanians and Cretans: who were followed by two thouſand Achæans, as a body of reſerve. The Cavalry, under the command of Alexander, was ranged along the river, oppoſite to the Cavalry of the enemy; and was ſupported by a thouſand Achæan Foot, and the ſame number of Megalopolitans. The King himſelf, with the Macedonians and the mercenaries, conducted the attack againſt Cleomenes upon mount Olympus. The mercenaries compoſed the firſt line; and after them followed the Macedonians, formed in the double Phalanx, one part of which was ranged behind the other: for the narrowneſs of the ground would admit no other diſpoſition. The Illyrians, who had paſſed the river in the night, and ſtood in order, covered from the ſight of the enemy, at the foot of mount Eva, were commanded to march up the mountain and begin the attack, as ſoon as they ſhould ſee an Enſign of linen raiſed upon mount Olympus: and the ſignal for the Cavalry and the Megalopolitans, was to be a veſt of purple hoiſted near the King.

When the time of the attack was come, the neceſſary orders diſtributed among the troops, and the ſignal given to the Illyrians, they immediately all ſhewed themſelves, and marched up the mountain to charge the enemy. But the light-armed forces, that were placed among the Cavalry of Cleomenes, having obſerved that the Achæans, as they were labouring to gain the ſummit of the hill, were not covered or ſupported from behind, advanced and fell ſuddenly upon their rear. And thus theſe troops, having Euclidas above them, ready to attack their front, and being at the ſame time preſſed by the mercenaries behind, who ran forwards to the charge

with great force and fury, were thrown into extreme danger. Philopœmen of Megalopolis, perceiving what had happened, and being well aware of the conſequences of it, communicated his apprehenſions to the Generals. And when theſe paid no regard to his advice, becauſe he was at that time extremely young, and had born no command in the army, he called aloud to his countrymen to follow him, and threw himſelf briſkly upon the Cavalry of the enemy. The mercenaries, that were engaged with the rear, hearing the noiſe, and ſeeing what had happened, immediately left the charge, and haſtened back again to their former poſt, to ſupport and aſſiſt their Cavalry. By this means the Illyrians, Macedonians, and the reſt of the troops that were marching up the mountain, being freed from the obſtacle that had embarraſſed and retarded them, advanced boldly againſt the enemy. So that the ſucceſs, which afterwards was gained on this ſide againſt Euclidas, was entirely to be aſcribed to the diſcernment and wiſe conduct of Philopœmen. And it is reported, that when the battle was ended, Antigonus, diſſembling his knowledge of the truth, demanded of Alexander, who commanded the Cavalry, why he had begun the combat before the ſignal was made for it: and that when Alexander denied that he had done it, and ſaid that a young man, a Megalopolitan, had given the charge in oppoſition to his orders, the King replied; "That young man then, by ſeizing the proper time for action, performed the part of a prudent and experienced General, and You, the General, the part of an ignorant young man."

With regard to Euclidas, he totally neglected the advantages which his ſituation gave him. For when he ſaw the enemy aſcending the hill towards him, he ſhould in prudence have advanced, and met them on the way; ſhould have fallen upon them, and diſturbed their ranks; and afterwards have retired again to the top of the hill. And thus, when he had

firſt

firſt ſpread diſorder through the ranks, and taken from them that ſuperiority, which was peculiar to their arms, and to the manner in which they were ranged in battle, he might then, with the advantage of his poſt, have gained an eaſy victory againſt them. But ſo far was he from purſuing any of theſe meaſures, that on the contrary his troops ſtood ſtill in their firſt ſtation, as if aſſured of conqueſt; and ſeemed to have been perſuaded, that if the enemy were permitted to gain the ſummit, this would only ſerve to render their flight back again more precipitate and fatal. But the event proved different from their expectations. For as the enemy advanced againſt them in cloſe order, their ranks being all entire, Euclidas, for want of ſufficient room behind for his army to retire or change their place, was thrown into the greateſt difficulties, and forced to maintain the fight upon the very edge of the hill. In this ſituation, his troops could not long ſtand againſt the heavy arms and unbroken diſpoſition of the enemy: but, as the Illyrians ſtill preſſed forwards, they ſtill gave ground before them, and were at laſt conſtrained to take their flight along the ſteep and craggy ſides of the mountain. Their diſorder was then complete, and a general rout enſued.

During this time, the Cavalry on both ſides were engaged. The Achæans, whoſe liberty was eſpecially the ſubject of the conteſt, all exerted their braveſt efforts. But Philopœmen ſignalized himſelf above the reſt: and when his horſe was killed under him in the action, he continued ſtill to fight on foot, till he had received a wound which paſſed through both his thighs.

The two Kings began the combat upon mount Olympus with the light-armed troops and mercenaries, which amounted on either ſide to about five thouſand men. The action, which was ſometimes general, and ſometimes maintained in parties, was remarkably warm and vigorous. For as the troops remembered that they ſtood beneath the eyes of their reſpective

Sovereigns, and in full ſight of both the armies, rank with rank, and man with man, all ſuſtained the fight with the utmoſt bravery and ſpirit. But when Cleomenes perceived, that his Brother was entirely routed, and that the Cavalry in the plain began to give ground likewiſe, being apprehenſive that the enemy would ſoon attack him from every quarter, he reſolved to level all his works, and draw out all his forces in front on one ſide of the camp. The trumpets on both ſides gave the ſignal for the light-armed troops to retire from the ſpace that was between the armies. The Phalanxes come forward with loud cries, turn their ſpears, and advance to the charge. The diſpute was long and obſtinate. Sometimes the Macedonians were repulſed by the bravery and vigour of the Lacedæmonians: and ſometimes theſe gave ground, unable to ſtand againſt the ſhock of the Macedonian Phalanx. At laſt the troops of Antigonus, crouding cloſe together the points of all their ſpears, and advancing againſt the enemy with all that weight and violence which are peculiar to the double Phalanx, forced them out of their intrenchments. The whole army fled in diſorder, and a general ſlaughter enſued. But Cleomenes, with a few horſemen that attended him, eſcaped to Sparta, and from thence, as ſoon as night came on, went down to Gythium: and finding there ſome veſſels, which by his orders had been long kept in readineſs againſt all accidents, he preſently embarked, together with his friends, and ſailed away to Alexandria.

Antigonus made himſelf maſter of Sparta upon his firſt approach. He treated the inhabitants with the greateſt generoſity and clemency, and reſtored to them their ancient government. But ſome days afterwards, having received information, that the Illyrians had entered Macedon, and were plundering the country, he left the city, and directed his march back again with all his forces. So contrary are the events of things to all human foreſight, even in affairs of the greateſt

greateſt moment. For if Cleomenes had declined a battle but for a few days only, or if after his retreat he had remained at Sparta, in expectation of ſome favourable accident, he might ſtill have held poſſeſſion of his kingdom.

Antigonus, arriving at Tegea, reſtored the city to it's former ſtate. Two days afterwards, he came to Argos, and was preſent at the Nemean Games. And when he had there received, both from the Achæan Republick in general, and from every particular city, ſuch applauſe and honours as might ſerve to render his name illuſtrious to all poſterity, he continued his march in haſte towards Macedon; ſurprized the Illyrians in the country; engaged them in battle; and gave them an entire defeat. But the cries and ſhouts which he made with more than uſual vehemence, to animate his ſoldiers during the time of the action, were followed by a great diſcharge of blood; which threw him into a diſorder, that was fatal to him in a ſhort time after. Thus were the Greeks deprived of a Prince, upon whom they had built the higheſt expectations: not ſo much on account of his ſkill in war; as becauſe he had ſhewn himſelf, in all his conduct, to be a man of ſtrict integrity, and a true friend to virtue. At his death he left the kingdom to Philip the ſon of Demetrius.

As theſe tranſactions are connected with the period from whence I am to begin my Hiſtory, I judged it to be proper, or rather neceſſary, in purſuing my firſt deſign, to relate them copiouſly and diſtinctly; that it might be from thence diſcerned, what was at that time the condition of the Macedonians and the Greeks. About the ſame time, Ptolemy alſo died of ſome diſeaſe; and Ptolemy Philopator ſucceeded to his kingdom. Seleucus, the ſon of Seleucus Callinicus who was alſo ſurnamed Pogon, being likewiſe dead, his brother Antiochus reigned in Syria. For it is remarkable, that as thoſe who firſt obtained theſe kingdoms after Alexander, I mean Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lyſimachus, all left the world in the

hundred-twenty-fourth Olympiad, ſo the Princes juſt now mentioned died all together likewiſe in the hundred-thirty-ninth.

Thus then have we finiſhed the foundation of our Hiſtory, and ſhewn in the courſe of this Introduction, at what time, in what manner, and upon what pretences, the Romans, after they had ſubdued the ſeveral parts of Italy, began firſt to extend their views abroad, and even contended with the Carthaginians for the empire of the ſea; and have alſo fully explained the condition and former fortunes, of the Greeks, Macedonians, and Carthaginians. As we are now therefore arrived at the point which we had at firſt in view, the commencement of the Social War in Greece, of the War of Annibal againſt the Romans, and of that between the Kings of Aſia for the Sovereignty of Cœle-ſyria, we ſhall here cloſe this Book; having brought to their concluſion the tranſactions which immediately preceded theſe wars, and ſeen the deaths of all the Princes who conducted them.

THE

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF POLYBIUS.

BOOK the Third. CHAP. I.

IT was mentioned in the firſt of the two preceding Books, that we had fixed the beginning of our Hiſtory at the commencement of the Social War; the War of Annibal; and that between Antiochus and Ptolemy, for the Sovereignty of Cœle-ſyria. In the ſame Book, we took occaſion alſo to explain the reaſons that inclined us to look back to an earlier age, and to relate, in the way of Introduction, the chief of thoſe tranſactions which preceded this period. We now go on to give a clear and diſtinct deſcription of theſe wars; together with the cauſes, to which they owed both their riſe and greatneſs: but ſhall firſt premiſe a ſhort account of the deſign and ſubject of our Work.

The chief intention then of this Hiſtory is to ſhew, at what time, in what manner, and from what cauſes, the whole known World became ſubject to the Roman power. And ſince this great event had a known beginning, and is allowed

to have been completed likewiſe in a determinate courſe of time, it will be uſeful firſt to recapitulate all the chief tranſactions, which paſſed between the commencement of it and it's completion. From this method, the reader will be able to acquire at once a right conception of all that we have undertaken to deſcribe. For in the ſtudy of Hiſtory, as in every other kind of ſcience, as a general view of the whole enables the mind to form a truer judgement on the ſeveral parts, ſo on the other hand, a diſtinct ſurvey of all the parts is alſo no leſs neceſſary for the right comprehenſion of the whole. We have already ſufficiently explained the general form and purpoſe of our Work, and ſhewn the bounds of it's extent. With regard to the ſeveral parts, the firſt in order are the wars juſt mentioned; the laſt, the ſubverſion of the Macedonian Empire: and theſe together include a period of fifty-three years; which, in the number of great and wonderful events that were then produced, far ſurpaſſes any equal portion of time before it. In relating theſe tranſactions, we ſhall obſerve the following order; beginning at the hundred-fortieth Olympiad.

Having firſt explained the cauſes of the war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, which is moſt frequently called the War of Annibal, we ſhall ſhew in what manner this General entered Italy, and gave ſo great a ſhock to the empire of the Romans, that they began to fear, that they ſhould ſoon be diſpoſſeſſed even of their proper country and ſeat of government: while their enemies, elate with a ſucceſs, which had exceeded all their hopes, were perſuaded that Rome itſelf muſt fall, as ſoon as they ſhould once appear before it. We ſhall then ſpeak of the alliance that was made by Philip with the Carthaginians, as ſoon as he had ended his war with the Ætolians, and ſettled the affairs of Greece. Next will follow the diſputes between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator, and the war that enſued between them for the ſove-

reignty

reignty of Cœle-ſyria: together with the war, which Pruſias and the Rhodians made upon the people of Byzantium; with deſign to force them to deſiſt from exacting certain duties, which they were accuſtomed to demand from all veſſels that ſailed into the Pontus. In this place we ſhall pauſe awhile, to take a view of the form and conſtitution of the Roman Government: and in the courſe of our inquiry ſhall endeavour to demonſtrate, that the peculiar temperament and ſpirit of their Republick ſupplied the chief and moſt effectual means, by which this people were enabled, not only to acquire the ſovereignty of Italy and Sicily, and to reduce the Gauls and Spaniards to their yoke, but to ſubdue the Carthaginians alſo, and when they had completed this great conqueſt, to form the project of obtaining Univerſal Empire. We ſhall add likewiſe a ſhort digreſſion, concerning the fate of Hiero's kingdom in Sicily: and afterwards go on to ſpeak of thoſe commotions that were raiſed in Ægypt, after the death of Ptolemy, by Philip and Antiochus: the wicked arts by which thoſe Princes attempted to ſhare between themſelves the dominions of the infant King: and the manner, in which the former of them invaded Ægypt, Samos, and Caria; and the latter, Cœle-ſyria and Phœnice. We then ſhall make a general recapitulation of all that was tranſacted by the Carthaginians and the Romans, in Spain, Sicily, and Afric: and from thence ſhall again remove the hiſtory to Greece, which now became the ſcene of new diſorders. And having firſt run through the naval battles of Attalus and the Rhodians againſt King Philip, we ſhall next deſcribe the war that followed between the Romans and this Prince; together with the cauſes, circumſtances, and concluſion of it. After theſe events, we ſhall relate, in what manner the Ætolians, urged by their reſentment, called Antiochus from Aſia, and gave occaſion to the war between the Achæans and the Romans. And having explained the cauſes of that war, and ſeen the entrance of

Antiochus

Antiochus into Europe, we ſhall then ſhew the manner in which he fled back again from Greece; and afterwards, when he had ſuffered an entire defeat, was forced to abandon all the country on this ſide of mount Taurus. Next will follow the victories, by which the Romans gave an effectual check to the inſolence of the Gauls; ſecured to themſelves the ſovereignty of the citerior Aſia; and delivered the people of that country from the dread of being again expoſed to the violence and ſavage fury of thoſe barbarians. We ſhall then give ſome account of the misfortunes, in which the Ætolians and Cephallenians were involved; and of the war, which Eumenes ſuſtained againſt Pruſias and the Gauls of Greece: together with that of Ariarathes againſt Pharnaces. And after ſome diſcourſe concerning the union, and form of government, of the confederate cities of Peloponneſus, which will be attended alſo with ſome remarks upon the growth and flouriſhing condition of the Republick of the Rhodians, we ſhall, in the laſt place, take a ſhort review of all that has been before related; and conclude the whole with the expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes into Ægypt, and the war with Perſeus, which was followed by the entire ſubverſion of the Macedonian Empire.

In the courſe of theſe events, we ſhall be able clearly to diſcern, by what kind of conduct the Romans gradually enlarged the limits of their power, till they had gained the ſovereignty of the World. Now, if the bare contemplation of good and ill ſucceſs could of itſelf enable us to form a right judgement on the conduct either of States or private men, we ſhould here cloſe our Hiſtory, agreeably to our firſt deſign. For the period of fifty-three years, which contains the whole progreſs and advancement of the Roman greatneſs, is here concluded: and from this time, as all were ready to acknowledge, nothing more remained, than to receive laws from this Republick, and yield an abſolute ſubmiſſion to it's ſway.

But the view only of the manner in which wars are terminated can never lead us into a complete and perfect knowledge, either of the conquerors, or the conquered nations: ſince in many inſtances, the moſt eminent and ſignal victories, through an injudicious uſe and application of them, have proved fatal and pernicious; as on the other hand, the heavieſt ills of fortune, when ſupported with conſtancy and courage, are frequently converted into great advantage. On this account, it will be uſeful likewiſe to review the policy, which the Romans afterwards obſerved, in governing the countries that were thus ſubdued; and to conſider alſo, what were the ſentiments of the conquered States, with reſpect to the conduct of their maſters: at the ſame time deſcribing the various characters and inclinations of particular men, and laying open their tempers and deſigns, as well in private life, as in the affairs of government. From theſe inquiries, the people of the preſent times will be enabled to diſcern, how far their intereſt requires them to continue ſtill in their dependance on the Romans: and poſterity may alſo fully underſtand the whole civil policy of this great Republick, and paſs a right judgement on it's defects and excellencies. And from hence indeed will ariſe the chief advantages, that are to be expected from this Hiſtory, with regard both to the preſent, and to future times. For it ought never to be ſuppoſed, either by thoſe who preſide in States, or thoſe who are willing to decide with truth concerning the manner in which they are adminiſtered, that the ſole end of making war is victory. No wiſe man ever attacked his neighbours, for the ſake only of returning ſuperior from the field. The deſign of navigation is not barely to be tranſported from place to place. Nor is any art or ſcience practiſed, with a view ſimply to acquire a knowledge in it. In all human actions, there is ſtill ſome end propoſed, either of pleaſure, honour, or advantage, conſequent to our pains and labour. To render therefore this Hiſtory complete and

and perfect, it will be neceſſary to lay open and explain the circumſtances and condition of each ſeveral people, from the time when the conteſt was decided which gave to the Romans the ſovereignty of the world, to the riſe of new commotions and diſorders. And as theſe too were of great importance, and attended with many uncommon incidents; and as I was myſelf engaged in the execution of ſome of them, in the conduct and contrivance of others, and was an eye-witneſs of almoſt all; I ſhall undertake the taſk of relating them at large, and begin as it were another Hiſtory. The chief of theſe tranſactions were the expeditions of the Romans againſt the Celtiberians and Vaccæans: the war which the Carthaginians made againſt Maſſaniſſa, a ſovereign prince of Afric: and that between Attalus and Pruſias in Aſia. We ſhall alſo ſee the manner, in which Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, was driven from his dominions by Orofernes, aſſiſted by Demetrius; and again by his own addreſs recovered his paternal rights. We ſhall ſee Demetrius the ſon of Seleucus, after he had reigned twelve years in Syria, deprived of his kingdom and his life, by the conſpiracy of the other Kings. About the ſame time, the Romans abſolved thoſe Greeks, that were accuſed of having ſecretly excited the war of Perſeus, and permitted them to return to their own country. And not long afterwards the ſame Romans made war again upon the Carthaginians: at firſt intending to force them to remove the ſeat of their Republick; but afterwards with deſign to exterminate both their name and government, for reaſons which I ſhall there endeavour to explain. And laſtly, when the Macedonians had about this time broken their alliance with the Romans, and the Lacedæmonians were alſo ſeparated from the Peloponneſian League, the ill fate of Greece received at once both it's beginning and full accompliſhment, in the loſs of the common liberty.

Such is the deſign of this Work: which with the favourable aid

aid of fortune, I hope to carry to it's deſtined end. But if my expectation ſhould be fruſtrated, either through the ſhortneſs of my life, or the infirmities that are incident to mankind, yet I am perſuaded that a ſubject ſo curious and important cannot fail to excite the attention of many able writers, who will eſteem it a taſk well worthy of their pains, to finiſh what I ſhall leave imperfect.

As we have thus enumerated all the chief events of which we intend to treat, and given the readers a juſt conception both of the general plan of our Work, and of it's ſeveral parts, it is now time to remember what we have propoſed, and to enter upon the beginning of our Subject.

AMong the Writers that have tranſmitted to us the hiſtory of Annibal, there are ſome who aſſign two cauſes of the ſecond war between the Carthaginians and the Romans. The firſt, they ſay, was the ſiege of Saguntum; and the other, the paſſage of the Carthaginians over the river Iberus, in direct breach of treaties. Now, that theſe two incidents were the beginning of the war, I ſhall readily allow: but by no means that they were the cauſes of it. It might with equal reaſon be affirmed, that the firſt irruption of Alexander into Aſia, was the cauſe of his war againſt the Perſians; and the arrival of Antiochus with an army at Demetrias, the cauſe of that war which followed with the Romans. Yet nothing can be more abſurd or falſe. For it is certain that Alexander, and indeed his Father Philip, had long before this time formed the project of an expedition into Perſia, and made great preparations for it: and the Ætolians likewiſe were no leſs fixed in their deſign to excite a war againſt the Romans, before Antiochus came into Greece. Such miſtakes ariſe from not remembering, that a diſtinction ſhould be always made between the cauſe and pretext, and the beginning, of a war; and that the firſt of theſe are in order always antecedent to the latter. To ſpeak juſtly, the

beginning is the firſt ſtep towards the execution of any project, after it has been determined. The cauſe is previous to all determination. It is ſomething that firſt ſuggeſts the project to the mind; that inclines us to examine it; to deliberate, determine, and at laſt to carry it into execution. I will endeavour more clearly to explain my meaning by the following examples. The cauſes of the war againſt the Perſians are obvious, and eaſy to be underſtood. The firſt was the retreat of the Greeks under the command of Xenophon; who, in their return from the upper provinces of Aſia, traverſed the whole country of their enemies, without being encountered by any force that was able to ſtand before them. The other was, the irruption of Ageſilaus, King of Sparta, into Aſia; where he found no ſtrength ſufficient to obſtruct his progreſs: though indeed the troubles, that were then raiſed in Greece, conſtrained him to abandon his deſigns, and return back again without performing any action of importance. For Philip, having revolved theſe things in his mind, and compared the ſoftneſs and effeminacy of the Aſiatics with his own ſkill in war, and with the bravery of the Macedonian ſoldiers, and being invited alſo by the richneſs of the prize that was before him, had no ſooner fully gained the favour of the States of Greece, than he reſolved to turn his arms againſt the Perſians, and began, with eagerneſs, to make all the preparations that were neceſſary for this deſign: at the ſame time declaring, that his purpoſe was, to avenge the injuries which the Greeks had received from Perſia. It is clear therefore, that the things firſt mentioned were the cauſes of the Perſian war, as the laſt was the pretext; and that the firſt entrance of Alexander into Aſia was the beginning of it. In the ſame manner alſo, the reſentment of the Ætolians muſt be conſidered as the cauſe of the war between Antiochus and the Romans. For this people, as we have already mentioned, being perſuaded that the Romans, at the time of the concluſion of their war with Philip, had treated them in many points with great contempt

and

and ſcorn, invited Antiochus into Greece; and reſolved to attempt and ſuffer every thing, rather than leave their indignation unappeaſed. The pretext, by which Antiochus and the Ætolians endeavoured to engage the ſeveral cities into their deſign, and which indeed was founded neither on truth nor reaſon, was to reſtore liberty to Greece. And the beginning of the war was the arrival of Antiochus at Demetrias.

In making theſe reflections, it is not ſo much my intention to paſs a cenſure upon thoſe Hiſtorians, as to inſtruct the political reader in a point which ought at all times to be viewed with great attention. For a Stateſman, that knows not how to trace the origin of events, and diſcern the different ſources from whence they take their riſe, may be compared with a Phyſician, who neglects to inform himſelf of the cauſes of thoſe diſtempers which he is called in to cure. The ſervices of both are alike uſeleſs and contemptible. And as the latter muſt be wholly unacquainted with the proper means of reſtoring the body to it's loſt health and vigour, ſo neither can it be ſuppoſed, that the former ſhould ever be able to have recourſe to the neceſſary remedies, in the diſorders that are incident to States. Our pains therefore can never better be employed, than in ſearching out the cauſes of events. For the moſt trifling incidents frequently give birth to matters of the greateſt moment and importance: and it is eaſier likewiſe, upon all occaſions, to check or remedy an evil in it's commencement, than when it has made ſome progreſs.

According to the Roman Hiſtorian Fabius, it was the inſatiable ambition of Aſdrubal, and his love of power, which, together with the injury that was done to the Saguntines, were the cauſes of the war. For Aſdrubal, ſays this Writer, when he had firſt ſpread his conqueſts over a conſiderable part of Spain, returned to Carthage, and there formed the project of ſubverting the laws and liberty of his country, and of changing the government into a Monarchy. But when the chief among

the citizens had penetrated into his deſign, and were beginning to concert the proper meaſures to oppoſe it, he went back again to Spain, and, during the remainder of his life, governed the country by his own ſingle will, and paid no regard to the Senate of Carthage. He then adds; that Annibal, who from his infancy had been inſtructed in all the counſels of this General, and had carefully obſerved his conduct as a right pattern for himſelf, was no ſooner inveſted with the ſupreme command in Spain, than he reſolved to purſue in all things the ſame ſcheme of government: that, agreeably to this determination, he made war upon the Romans; conſulting in it his own inclinations only, and not the intereſts of his country: that the Carthaginians were averſe to the war: and that not one citizen of rank in the whole Republick approved of his attacking the Saguntines. In the laſt place he relates; that as ſoon as Saguntum was deſtroyed, the Romans ſent ſome deputies to Carthage, to require that Annibal ſhould be ſurrendered into their hands, and to declare war, in caſe that this demand ſhould be refuſed. Let us then aſk this Writer: could the Carthaginians, if they were in truth diſſatisfied with that which Annibal had done, ever hope to find an occaſion more favourable to all their ſentiments, or any expedient more juſt and advantageous, than what was now propoſed: ſince by yielding to the demands of the Romans, and delivering up the author of the injury, they might at once have removed, in a ſpecious manner, the man who was known to be an enemy to their State; ſecured their country from invaſion; turned aſide the dangers of the war that threatened them; and in a word, by a ſingle decree only of the Senate, might have taken an effectual and ſufficient vengeance for all that had been now tranſacted? This is a queſtion, to which the Roman hiſtorian can make no reply. For ſo far were the Carthaginians from purſuing any of theſe meaſures, that, on the contrary, they maintained the war under the ſole direction and care of Annibal,

bal, during the courſe of ſeventeen years; nor ever were inclined to bring it to a concluſion, till all hopes of ſucceſs were loſt, and the ſafety of their country rendered almoſt deſperate.

With regard to my deſign, in paſſing this cenſure on Fabius and his writings; I was not led to it by any apprehenſion, that his accounts would otherwiſe gain credit with the reader. For his inaccuracy and want of judgement are every where ſo diſcernable, that they need not be particularly pointed out. But I was willing juſt to caution thoſe, who take his works into their hands, that they ſhould conſider always the facts themſelves, rather than the character of the Writer. For there are ſome, whoſe prejudices ſo ſtrongly favour him, becauſe he was a Senator of Rome, and lived in the times of which he writes, that they admit, without any kind of doubt or heſitation, every thing which he relates. For my own part, as I do not think that his authority ſhould be entirely diſregarded, ſo neither can I allow it to have ſufficient weight to decide in any point, unleſs it be ſupported alſo by the credibility of the facts. But it is time to finiſh this digreſſion.

Among the true cauſes then of the ſecond war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, the reſentment and indignation of Amilcar Barcas, the father of Annibal, may juſtly be conſidered as one. Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of this General in Sicily, his ſpirit remained unconquered; when he reflected, that he had preſerved the forces, that were under his command at Eryx, ſtill intire; and that all of them were animated by the ſame diſpoſition as himſelf. After the laſt defeat of the Carthaginians by ſea, which obliged them to ſue for peace, he yielded indeed to the neceſſity of the times; but retained a ſtrong deſire of revenge, and only waited for an occaſion to declare it. And in all probability his management would very ſuddenly have produced another war, if the diſorders in which his country was then involved by the rebellion

bellion of the mercenaries had not engaged his whole attention.

No ſooner were theſe troubles ended, than the Romans again declared war; and the Carthaginians, emboldened by the juſtice of their cauſe, ſeemed at firſt determined to accept it; as we mentioned in the former Books: which the reader will find to be ſo neceſſary an introduction to this Work, that, without their aſſiſtance, he will ſcarcely be able fully to comprehend either what I now write, or what hereafter may come to be related. But as their enemies paid no regard to this juſtice, the Carthaginians were forced to comply with what the times demanded; and, rather than ſubmit to any hazard in their preſent circumſtances, conſented, though with great reluctance, to yield up Sardinia to the Romans, and to pay twelve hundred Talents, above the ſum that had been before exacted from them.

Theſe conceſſions are to be looked upon as the ſecond, and indeed the principal cauſe of the war that followed. For Amilcar, obſerving that his own reſentment was now ſtrengthened by an equal degree of indignation in his fellow-citizens, had no ſooner finiſhed the deſtruction of the mercenaries, and ſecured the tranquillity of Carthage, than he applied all his thoughts to Spain; as the place, from whence he might beſt procure the neceſſary ſupplies for an expedition againſt the Romans. And the great ſucceſs which he met with in that country may be conſidered as the third cauſe of the war: becauſe nothing, but the ſtrength and the reſources which the Carthaginians drew from thence, could have inſpired them with confidence to undertake it.

It might be ſhewn by many arguments, that Amilcar was the firſt author and contriver of the ſecond Punic War, though he died ten years before the commencement of it: but what I am going to relate will ſufficiently prove it beyond all doubt. At the time when Annibal, after his defeat in Afric and de-

parture from his country, was entertained at the court of Antiochus, the Romans, having diſcovered the deſigns of the Ætolians, ſent ambaſſadors to that Prince, to ſound his diſpoſition and intentions. The ambaſſadors, perceiving that he inclined to the Ætolians, and was diſpoſed to enter heartily into the war, endeavoured to inſpire him with a jealouſy of Annibal; and, to that end, ſhewed a more than common reſpect to the Carthaginian. Their deſign ſucceeded: the King became doubtful of his truth; and his doubts grew ſtronger every day. At laſt, when they had one day found an opportunity of explaining their mutual diſcontent, Annibal, after he had in vain employed many arguments, and proteſtations of his ſincerity, went on to acquaint him: that when his father was offering ſacrifice to Jupiter, juſt before his departure into Spain, he ſtood near him at the altar, being then but nine years old; and that, when the libations and other rites were ended, Amilcar, having commanded the reſt that were about the altar to retire, called him to him, careſſed, and aſked him, if he would attend him to the army: to which when he chearfully conſented, and even requeſted that he might go, with that ſort of eagerneſs which belongs to children; his father led him to the altar, and commanded him to touch the victims, and to ſwear that he never would be a friend to the Romans. You may therefore, continued he, reſt aſſured, that, when you are forming any deſigns againſt the Romans, I ſhall encourage and aſſiſt you with ſincerity and zeal: but whenever you incline to terms of treaty or alliance with them, from that time let me adviſe you, not to ſeek for the evidence of information, but to miſtruſt me, and watch me carefully; for I ſhall ſtill look out for every occaſion of working miſchief to that people. This diſcourſe, which was delivered with that kind of paſſion which truth inſpires, effectually removed all ſuſpicion from the mind of Antiochus.

This,

This, it muſt be acknowledged, is a manifeſt inſtance of Amilcar's hatred of the Romans, and of the projects which he at that time meditated: but the events that followed are a ſtill clearer confirmation of both. For what can more ſtrongly denote the violence as well as certainty of this diſpoſition in Amilcar, than the conduct of his ſon-in-law Aſdrubal, and Annibal his ſon; whom he had incited by his counſels and example to the moſt inveterate enmity againſt the ſame people that can be well conceived? The firſt indeed died, before he was able fully to diſcover his intentions to the world: but the other found the times more favourable to his purpoſe; and gave abundant proofs of his hereditary hatred in the ſtrongeſt and moſt publick manner. From hence we may learn how neceſſary it is, that thoſe who are intruſted with the adminiſtration of government, ſhould make it one of the firſt objects of their care, to be well acquainted with the ſecret diſpoſition and deſigns of any people, with whom they conclude a peace, or make a new alliance; and obſerve, whether their conſent be yielded to the circumſtances of the times, or whether it proceed from a perfect and ſincere ſubmiſſion: that they may be always upon their guard againſt thoſe who are influenced by the firſt motive, as men that wait only for a more ſeaſonable opportunity of acting; and on the other hand, that they may repoſe an entire confidence in the others, eſteem them their true friends and ſubjects, and employ them in any ſervice that ſhall occur.

Such were the cauſes of the War of Annibal: let us now attend to the beginning of it.

It was not without great reluctance and concern, that the Carthaginians had been forced to abandon Sicily. But the loſs of Sardinia afterwards, together with the payment of a new and heavier Tribute, added a ſtill ſharper ſting to their reſentment. No ſooner therefore had they reduced beneath their power the moſt conſiderable part of Spain, than they liſtened

liſtened with the utmoſt eagerneſs to every matter of complaint againſt the Romans. When Aſdrubal was dead, who had governed the affairs of Spain after Amilcar, they for ſome time delayed to appoint his ſucceſſor, till they could know the ſentiments of the army. But when the news arrived, that the troops had with one conſent made choice of Annibal for their General, they called together an aſſembly of the people, and with one voice alſo confirmed the election. As ſoon as Annibal was inveſted with this dignity, he began his march to ſubdue the Olcades. And having incamped before Althæa, the ſtrongeſt of their cities, he preſſed the ſiege with ſo much vigour, that he ſoon made himſelf maſter of the place. The neighbouring towns were ſtruck with terror, and ſubmitted. Annibal ranſomed them all for money: and having by that means gained great ſtores of wealth, he returned to take his winter quarters at New Carthage. His treatment of thoſe that were under his command was in every inſtance great and generous: and by the punctual payment of the military ſtipends, as well as by the promiſe alſo of large rewards for the time to come, he obtained the favour and eſteem of all the troops, and filled them with the warmeſt hopes.

When the ſummer returned, having led his forces into the territory of the Vaccæans, he made himſelf maſter of Elmantica in the firſt aſſault. He took alſo the city of Arbucale by ſtorm: but not till it had firſt ſuſtained a ſiege, in which he often was reduced to great extremity. For the place was of large extent: and the inhabitants likewiſe, who were very numerous, defended themſelves with the greateſt bravery. After this ſucceſs, he was ſurpriſed at once, when he leaſt expected it, by a danger that ſeemed likely to prove fatal to him. The Carpeſians, the ſtrongeſt and moſt powerful people of the country, had drawn together all their forces to intercept him in his return. They were joined by many alſo of the neighbouring nations: who had been animated to this attempt by

the Elmanticans and Olcades, that had ſaved themſelves by flight after the deſtruction of their cities. If the Carthaginians had been forced to engage in ſet battle againſt ſo great a force, their defeat muſt have been inevitable and complete. But Annibal, like a prudent and experienced General, retreated behind the Tagus; and having the river in his front, reſolved to expect the barbarians there, and to diſpute their paſſage. By the help of this advantage, and with the aſſiſtance alſo of his Elephants, which were about forty in number, the ſucceſs was ſuch as exceeded even his hopes. The enemy came down with the greateſt eagerneſs and haſte; and plunged into the river in many parts at once. But no ſooner had they gained the other ſide, than they were met and trodden down in heaps, by the Elephants that were ranged along the bank. Great numbers of them alſo were deſtroyed in the paſſage over, by the Carthaginian Cavalry: who were able more effectually to contend with the violence of the ſtream; and who fought alſo with no ſmall advantage againſt the Foot, that ſtood below them. Annibal then paſſed the river, charged the enemy, and gave them an entire defeat; though their numbers amounted to more than a hundred thouſand men. After this ſignal victory, there was not any people left on that ſide of the Iberus, except only the Saguntines, that was able to oppoſe the progreſs of the Carthaginians, or to appear againſt them in the field. But Annibal, remembering carefully the counſels and the plan of conduct, which his father Amilcar had recommended to him, delayed for ſome time longer to attack Saguntum: being determined not to give the Romans any plauſible pretence for declaring war, till he had firſt ſecured his other conqueſts, and ſettled the country in ſuch a ſtate, as was moſt proper for his deſign.

During this time the Saguntines, in apprehenſion of what ſoon afterwards enſued, ſent frequent meſſengers to Rome, to inform the Senate of the rapid progreſs and ſucceſs of Annibal.

The

The Romans had long neglected theſe advices: at laſt however, they reſolved to ſend ſome deputies into Spain, to inſpect the truth. Annibal, having reduced the ſeveral nations, againſt whom he had at that time turned his arms, was again come back, to take his winter quarters at New Carthage; which was the capital city, and ſeat of government, of the Carthaginians, in that part of Spain which was ſubject to their power. He there found the Roman Deputies, and admitted them to an audience. They adjured him by the Gods, not to offer any violence to the Saguntines, the Allies of Rome: and to remain on that ſide of the Iberus; agreeably to the Treaty made with Aſdrubal. Annibal, who was at this time young and eager in his appetite for war; animated by his late ſucceſs; and incited alſo by a long and habitual hatred of the Romans; replied, as if he had been a friend to the Saguntines; and complained to the ambaſſadors, that the Romans, taking occaſion from ſome diſorders that had happened in the place not long before, and which were ſubmitted to their deciſion, had by an arbitrary ſentence condemned ſome of the Magiſtrates to die. This injuſtice called aloud, he ſaid, for his reſentment: ſince the Carthaginians always had conſidered it as one of the moſt ſacred cuſtoms of their country, to redreſs and avenge the injured. At the ſame time he ſent to Carthage, to know what meaſures he ſhould take, with reſpect to the Saguntines; who, through confidence in their alliance with the Romans, had offered violence, as he ſaid, to ſome of the neighbouring people, that were under the protection of the Republick. It is eaſy to remark, that in the whole of this proceeding, he was hurried headlong by his paſſions, and not led by reaſon. Inſtead therefore of acknowledging the true motives of his conduct, he was forced to have recourſe to abſurd pretences; as it uſually happens to men who are prevented by their prejudices from giving a fair attention to what is juſt and right. How much better would it have

been, to have demanded of the Romans, that they ſhould reſtore Sardinia, and yield back the Tribute, which, without any ſhew of juſtice, they had extorted from the Carthaginians in the times of their diſtreſs? But now, by being wholly ſilent concerning that which might have been conſidered as a reaſonable pretence for taking arms, and urging only thoſe falſe and frivolous motives which reſpected the Saguntines, he ſeemed in the opinion of every one to enter into the war, not only in oppoſition to ſound ſenſe and reaſon, but in expreſs violation alſo of all the laws of juſtice.

The ambaſſadors, perceiving clearly that a war muſt follow, ſailed away immediately to Carthage; in order to repeat again, before the Senate, the ſame remonſtrances which they had now made to Annibal. But they had no kind of apprehenſion, that Italy would become the ſeat of the war; but expected rather, that all hoſtilities would be confined to Spain; and deſigned to uſe Saguntum as their place of arms. Under this perſuaſion, the Roman Senate, conceiving that the war would be long and difficult, and far removed from their own country, reſolved in the firſt place to quiet thoſe diſorders that had now happened in Illyria.

For Demetrius of Pharos, forgetting all the favours which had been heaped upon him by the Romans, and even beginning to think meanly of their power, when he obſerved the conſternation into which the Gauls had lately thrown them, and which was now renewed again by the preparations that were made by Annibal, from this time reſolved to place all his hopes in the Royal Houſe of Macedon; to whoſe alliance and protection he had ſome kind of claim, becauſe he had joined his forces with Antigonus, in the war againſt Cleomenes. Fixed in this deſign, he began to plunder and deſtroy the Roman cities in Illyria; and ſailing with fifty armed frigates beyond Liſſus, in contempt of treaties, ravaged many of the Cyclade iſlands. As the Houſe of Macedon was at this time

time ſtrong and flouriſhing, the Romans conceived it to be highly neceſſary, that they ſhould ſecure againſt all danger thoſe provinces that were ſituated to the Eaſt of Italy; and were perſuaded, that it would then be early enough to oppoſe the motions of the Carthaginians, when they had firſt recovered the Illyrians from their folly, and chaſtiſed the ingratitude and raſhneſs of Demetrius. But the event proved contrary to their hopes. For Annibal prevented them by his diligence: and having made himſelf maſter of Saguntum, he removed the ſcene of the war into the very heart of Italy, and brought it even to the gates of Rome.

CHAP. II.

IN the beginning of the Spring, in the firſt year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, the Romans, purſuing the deſign that has now been mentioned, ſent L. Æmilius with an army into Illyria. At the ſame time Annibal began his march from New Carthage towards Saguntum. This city is ſituated at the diſtance of about ſeven ſtadia from the ſea; upon the foot of thoſe mountains, which form the frontiers of Iberia and Celtiberia. The country round it is diſtinguiſhed by it's richneſs and fertility, above all the other parts of Spain. Annibal, having incamped before the place, began to puſh the ſiege with the cloſeſt vigour. He ſaw, that from this conqueſt many advantages would ariſe, of the greateſt moment with reſpect to the future execution of his deſigns. For firſt, as the Romans would then loſe all hope of making Spain the theatre of the war, ſo by this ſucceſs he was ſure to ſtrike a general terror into all the country; which would both render thoſe that had ſubmitted to the power of Carthage more tractable and ſteady in their duty, and make the reſt, who were yet unconquered, more cautious of attempting any thing againſt

againſt him. He conſidered likewiſe; that there would then no enemy be left behind him, to harraſs or retard his march: that the treaſures of the city would procure, in the greateſt plenty, ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for the war: that the troops, by the taſte of plunder, would be animated to a higher degree of ardour and alacrity: and in the laſt place, that the ſpoils, which he deſigned to ſend to Carthage, would ſecure to him the favour of his fellow-citizens at home. Urged by the hope of theſe advantages, he employed his utmoſt efforts in the ſiege: making himſelf an example to the army, and ſharing with them in every labour and in every duty: ſometimes encouraging the troops by words; and ſometimes throwing himſelf the firſt into the greateſt dangers. At laſt, when for eight months continuance he had experienced every kind of fatigue and hardſhip, he took the place by ſtorm; and gained an immenſe booty, in money, ſlaves, and valuable goods. He reſerved the money, as he had at firſt propoſed, to aſſiſt him in the execution of his deſigns; diſtributed the ſlaves among his ſoldiers, in ſuch proportion as was ſuited to each man's ſervices; and ſent the reſt of the ſpoil to Carthage. The conſequence was ſuch as he had foreſeen, and fully anſwered all his expectations. The ſoldiers encountered danger with greater eagerneſs than before: the Carthaginians readily complied with every thing that was demanded of them: and from the treaſure which he had gained, he drew many great advantages in the progreſs of the war.

As ſoon as Demetrius was informed of the preparations of the Romans, he placed a ſtrong garriſon in Dimalus, and furniſhed it with all the neceſſary ſtores. In the reſt of the cities, he cauſed all the chief inhabitants that were averſe to his intereſts, to be put to death: and placed the government in others, of whoſe fidelity he was well aſſured. And having ſelected, from the braveſt of all his ſubjects, a body of ſix thouſand men, he ſtationed them, under his own command,

in Pharos. When the Roman Conſul, arriving in the country, perceived that the Illyrians had repoſed their greateſt confidence in the ſtrength of Dimalus, and in the ſtores with which it was ſupplied, and that they eſteemed it to be even impregnable, he reſolved, in order to ſtrike the enemy with terror, to make his firſt attempt upon that city. Having called together therefore all the officers, and exhorted each man ſeverally to be ſtrenuous in his duty, he advanced his works againſt the place in many parts at once, and preſſed the ſiege with ſo great vigour, that after ſix days he took the town by ſtorm. The reſt of the cities on every ſide were filled with conſternation, and ſent in haſte, and ſubmitted to the Romans. The Conſul received them all, upon ſuch conditions as he judged convenient; and immediately ſailed away, to attack Demetrius in Pharos. But when he heard, that the city was ſtrongly fortified, and defended alſo by a numerous garriſon, who were all choſen troops; and that large ſupplies had been laid up in it, as well of proviſions, as of all the neceſſary ſtores of war; he began to apprehend, that a regular ſiege might engage him in a work of long continuance, and be attended with no ſmall difficulty. He reſolved therefore, while the occaſion favoured him, to employ the following ſtratagem. Having landed the greateſt part of his troops by night upon the Iſland, with orders to conceal themſelves in the woods and other covered places, as ſoon as day appeared, he came ſailing, in open view, with only twenty ſhips, into the harbour that lay neareſt to the city. Demetrius ſaw their approach, and deſpiſing the ſmallneſs of their numbers, led out ſome troops towards the harbour, to oppoſe their landing. As the fight by degrees grew warm and obſtinate, freſh forces ſtill arrived from the city to ſupport the former, till at laſt the whole garriſon was engaged. At this time the Romans, that had landed in the night, having advanced through ſecret roads, appeared in ſight: and ſeizing a ſtrong eminence, that

ſtood

ſtood between the city and the harbour, they poſted themſelves upon it, and cut off the return of the Illyrians to the city. Demetrius, perceiving what had happened, no longer endeavoured to prevent the enemy from landing: but having collected all his troops together, and exhorted them to perform their duty, he marched towards the eminence in order of battle. When the Romans ſaw, that the Illyrians moved towards them with great alacrity, and in perfect order, they advanced on their part likewiſe, and charged them with unuſual fury. At the ſame time, the troops alſo, that had juſt now landed, fell upon the rear. The Illyrians, being thus attacked on every ſide, were ſoon thrown into diſorder and confuſion, ſo that a general rout enſued. A ſmall number of them fled towards the city: but the reſt eſcaped through private roads, and concealed themſelves in different parts of the iſland. Demetrius, having retreated to ſome veſſels that had been provided by him againſt all accidents, and which lay at anchor in a private place, ſailed away by night, and by a ſurprizing kind of fortune arrived, without any accident, at the court of Philip, and there paſſed the remainder of his life. He was a man of a brave and daring ſpirit: but his courage was fierce and violent, and never conducted by the rule of reaſon. The manner therefore of his death was perfectly agreeable to this character, and to his former life. For in endeavouring to take Meſſene, by the command of Philip, he was hurried on ſo far by his impetuoſity and want of temper, that he periſhed in the action; as we ſhall relate more fully in it's proper place.

The Conſul, after this ſucceſs, entered Pharos without reſiſtance, and razed it to the ground. And having made himſelf maſter of the other parts of Illyria, and ſettled the ſtate of all the Province agreeably to his firſt deſign, the ſummer being now ended, he returned to Rome, entered the city in Triumph, and was received with all the acclamations and ap-

plauſe, that were due to the great ſkill and courage which he had ſhewn in the diſcharge of his commiſſion.

CHAP. III.

WHEN the Romans received the news that Saguntum was taken, they by no means made it any part of their deliberations, whether they ſhould enter into a war with Carthage: though ſome writers affirm the contrary; and have even tranſmitted to us the ſpeeches that were made, on either ſide, in the courſe of the debate. But nothing can be more abſurd and groundleſs than this conceit. For the Romans had in fact declared war a year before againſt the Carthaginians, in caſe that any violence ſhould be offered to the Saguntines. How then can they at this time be ſuppoſed, when Saguntum was actually taken and deſtroyed, to have been at all divided in their ſentiments, with reſpect to war or peace? What thoſe hiſtorians afterwards relate, is no leſs deſtitute of all ſupport from truth or probability. "That the Romans were ſtruck with the greateſt conſternation: and brought their ſons of twelve years old into the Senate, and communicated to them all the publick counſels: and that theſe children obſerved the ſtricteſt ſecrecy with regard to what had paſſed, and concealed it even from their neareſt friends." As if this people, beſides the other peculiar benefits which they have received from fortune, were poſſeſſed alſo of the privilege of becoming wiſe from the very moment of their birth. But there is no need to employ many words to refute theſe idle ſtories of Chæreas and Soſilus: ſtories, ſuited only to the taſte and judgement of the vulgar, among whom they firſt took their riſe; and which diſgrace the name of Hiſtory.

As ſoon then as the Romans were informed of the deſtruction of Saguntum, they admitted no delay, but ſent away their ambaſſadors, to propoſe two things to the Carthaginians: the firſt of which carried with it a diminution of their honour,

as well as ſome injury to their State; and the other involved them at once in an affair of the greateſt difficulty and danger. For their orders were, to demand that Annibal, and the reſt of the chief commanders, ſhould be delivered to the Romans: and, in caſe that this ſhould be refuſed, inſtantly to declare war. When the ambaſſadors arrived at Carthage, they addreſſed the Senate, agreeably to theſe inſtructions. The Carthaginians received the alternative with no ſmall pain: and appointed the ableſt member of their body to defend the late tranſactions. This perſon, in diſcharging his commiſſion, paſſed over in ſilence the Treaty that was made with Aſdrubal; as if no ſuch treaty had been ever made: or if there had, that it by no means could be thought to bind the Senate, becauſe it never had received their approbation or conſent. Upon this head, he appealed to the example of the Romans themſelves; and reminded them, that in the time of the Sicilian war, a Treaty, which Lutatius had concluded with the Carthaginians, was afterwards declared by the Roman People to be void, as having been made without their knowledge and authority. But that which was chiefly urged, was the treaty that was fully ſettled between the two Republicks, at the end of the war in Sicily: in which no mention was made of Spain. It was indeed declared, that no injury ſhould be offered to the Allies of either people: but the Carthaginians ſhewed, that the Saguntines were not at that time in alliance with the Romans. On this point therefore they reſted their whole defence; and recurred again and again to the words of the Treaty. But the Romans altogether refuſed to enter into this debate. They ſaid, that if Saguntum had ſtill remained entire, ſuch diſcuſſions might perhaps have been admitted, and the conteſt cleared by words. But as that city had been ſtormed and pillaged in contempt of treaties, it was now incumbent on them, either to remove the charge, of having directed, or connived at this injuſtice, by delivering up to puniſhment the authors of it; or on the other hand, by re-

ſuſing to comply with this demand, to avow without reſerve, that they were ſharers in the guilt, and ready to await the conſequences of it.

It may perhaps be uſeful to thoſe who are at any time engaged in deliberations of a like nature and importance, to take a cloſer view of the true ſtate and merits of this conteſt. With this deſign, and in order to free the reader alſo from thoſe perplexities, in which the miſtakes and prejudices of other hiſtorians will be likely to entangle him, we ſhall here ſet before his view the ſeveral treaties that had ever been concluded between the two Republicks, from the earlieſt times.

The firſt was of the age of Lucius Junius Brutus, and Marcus Horatius: who were created the firſt Conſuls, after the expulſion of the Kings; and who conſecrated the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. This was twenty-eight years before Xerxes invaded Greece. I have given the ſenſe of it, with all the ſkill and accuracy of which I am maſter: for the language, that was uſed in thoſe times, is ſo different from that which is now ſpoken among the Romans, that frequently the beſt interpreters, even after the cloſeſt application, are unable to explain it.

"Between the Romans and their Allies and the Carthaginians and their Allies, there ſhall be peace and alliance upon theſe conditions. Neither the Romans nor their Allies ſhall ſail beyond the Fair Promontory, unleſs compelled by bad weather or an enemy. And in caſe that they are forced beyond it, they ſhall not be allowed to take or purchaſe any thing, except what is barely neceſſary for refitting their veſſels, or for Sacrifice; and they ſhall depart within five days. The merchants, that ſhall offer any goods to ſale in Sardinia, or any part of Afric, ſhall pay no cuſtoms, but only the uſual fees to the Scribe and Crier: and the Publick Faith ſhall be a ſecurity to the merchant, for whatever he ſhall ſell in the

preſence of theſe officers. If any of the Romans land in that part of Sicily which belongs to the Carthaginians, they ſhall ſuffer no wrong or violence in any thing. The Carthaginians ſhall not offer any injury to the Ardeates, Antiates, Laurentines, Circæans, Tarracinians, or any other people of the Latins, that have ſubmitted to the Roman juriſdiction. Nor ſhall they poſſeſs themſelves of any city of the Latins, that is not ſubject to the Romans. If any one of theſe be taken, it ſhall be delivered to the Romans in it's entire ſtate. The Carthaginians ſhall not build any fortreſs in the Latin territory: and if they land there in a hoſtile manner, they ſhall depart before night."

This Fair Promontory ſtands on the north ſide of Carthage: and their deſign, as I imagine, in not permitting the Romans to ſail forwards to the ſouthward of it, was, that they might conceal from them the knowledge of the country that lay round Byzacium and the Little Syrtis; which, on account of it's uncommon richneſs and fertility, was called, THE MARKETS. But in caſe that they are forced beyond it by rough weather, or an enemy, they then engage indeed to ſupply them with whatever may be wanted for refitting their veſſels, or for Sacrifice: but allow nothing to be taken beyond what is barely neceſſary; and injoin them to depart within five days. But Carthage, and the other parts of Afric that ſtand on this ſide of the Fair Promontory, together with Sardinia likewiſe, and as much of Sicily as belonged to the Carthaginians, are left open to the Roman merchants: and the Publick Faith is pledged for their ſecurity, and equitable treatment.

It is to be obſerved, that the Carthaginians here ſpeak of Afric and Sardinia, as being entirely ſubject to their juriſdiction. But with regard to Sicily, the conditions of the Treaty are expreſsly limited to thoſe parts of the iſland only which are ſaid to belong to Carthage. The Romans obſerve, on their part

part alſo, the ſame manner of expreſſion, in ſpeaking of the Latin territory: and no mention is made of the reſt of Italy, which they had not at that time ſubdued.

There was afterwards another Treaty, in which the Carthaginians included the Tyrians and the Uticeans: and to the Fair Promontory, before mentioned, they now added Maſtia and Tarſeium; beyond which, it was not permitted to the Romans to ſail in ſearch of plunder, or to build any city. Theſe are the words of the Treaty.

"Between the Romans and their Allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, Uticeans, and their Allies, there ſhall be peace and alliance upon theſe conditions. The Romans ſhall not ſail in ſearch of plunder, nor carry on any traffick, nor build any city, beyond the Fair Promontory, Maſtia, and Tarſeium. If the Carthaginians take any city of the Latins, not belonging to the Roman juriſdiction, they may reſerve to themſelves the priſoners, with the reſt of the booty, but ſhall reſtore the city. If any of the Carthaginians gain any captives, from a people that is allied, by a written treaty, with the Romans, though they are not the ſubjects of their empire, they ſhall not bring them into the Roman ports: in caſe they do ſo, the Romans ſhall be allowed to claim, and ſet them free. The ſame condition ſhall be obſerved alſo by the Romans: and when they land, in ſearch of water, or proviſions, upon any country that is ſubject to the Carthaginians, they ſhall be ſupplied with what is neceſſary, and then depart; without offering any violence to the allies and friends of Carthage. The breach of theſe conditions ſhall not be reſented as a private injury; but be proſecuted as the publick cauſe of either people. The Romans ſhall not carry on any trade, or build any city, in Sardinia, or in Afric: nor ſhall they even viſit thoſe countries, unleſs for the ſake of getting proviſions, or refitting their ſhips. If they are driven upon them by a ſtorm, they ſhall depart within five days. In thoſe parts of Sicily,

Sicily, which belong to the Carthaginians, and in the city of Carthage, the Romans may expoſe their goods to ſale, and do every thing that is permitted to the citizens of the Republick. The ſame indulgence ſhall be yielded to the Carthaginians, at Rome."

In the ſecond Treaty, as in the former, the Carthaginians aſſert their entire right to Afric, and Sardinia; and forbid the entrance of the Romans there, on any pretence. But in ſpeaking of Sicily, they mention only ſo much of the iſland, as had ſubmitted to the power of Carthage. The Romans uſe alſo the ſame manner of expreſſion, in that part of the Treaty which regards the country of the Latins: where they ſtipulate, that the Carthaginians ſhall offer no injury to the Antiates, Ardeates, Tarracinians, and Circæans. Theſe were the people who inhabited the maritime towns of Latium.

About the time when Pyrrhus invaded Italy, before the Carthaginians were engaged in the war of Sicily, a third Treaty was concluded: in which, the conditions of the former two were all confirmed, together with this addition.

"If the Carthaginians or the Romans enter into any Treaty with King Pyrrhus, this condition ſhall be inſerted: That it ſhall be allowed to either people to ſend aſſiſtance to the other, if their country be invaded. That to whomſoever ſuch aſſiſtance ſhall be ſent, the Carthaginians ſhall be obliged to furniſh veſſels, both for the paſſage and return: but the pay of the troops ſhall be diſcharged by thoſe, in whoſe ſervice they are employed. The Carthaginians ſhall aſſiſt the Romans by ſea, if it be neceſſary: but the naval forces ſhall not be compelled to diſembark againſt their own conſent."

The firſt of theſe Treaties was confirmed by oath, in the following manner. The Carthaginians ſwore by the Gods of their country; and the Romans by a Stone, agreeably to an ancient cuſtom; and by Mars Enyalius. The ceremony of ſwearing by a Stone was thus performed. The perſon, that

was

was appointed to this office, having firſt ſolemnly atteſted the publick Faith for the due obſervance of the Treaty, took in his hands a Stone, and pronounced the following words. "If I ſwear truly, may the Gods be propitious to me. But if I think, or act, any thing that is contrary to my Oath, then let the reſt enjoy in ſafety their country, laws, poſſeſſions, houſehold-gods, and ſepulchres; and let Me alone be caſt out from the ſociety, as this ſtone is now caſt away." At the ſame time he threw away the Stone.

Theſe Treaties are ſtill preſerved on Tables of braſs, in the apartment of the Ædiles in the Capitol. That Philinus never ſaw them, is not much to be wondered at: ſince, even in our times, many of the oldeſt men, both Carthaginians and Romans, who are thought to have made the cloſeſt ſearch into the antiquities and hiſtory of their ſeveral countries, are ignorant that any ſuch Treaties now exiſt. But it ſeems a matter of juſt ſurprize, that this Hiſtorian ſhould venture to aſſert a fact, which is ſo clearly falſified and refuted by theſe genuine Records: nor is it eaſy to conceive, upon what grounds he has done it. For in the ſecond Book of his Work, he affirms; that the Romans were, by an expreſs Convention, excluded from every part of Sicily, as the Carthaginians were from Italy: and that the firſt deſcent of the Romans upon the Iſland was made in violation of their oaths, and in direct breach of what had thus been ſtipulated. Yet it is certain, that no traces of any ſuch Convention can any where be found. Theſe miſtakes were ſlightly mentioned in our Preliminary Books. But it was neceſſary, in this place, to enter into a more minute examination of them, becauſe they have hitherto derived great weight from the authority of the writer, and miſled many from the truth. If we reflect indeed on the deſign and purpoſe of that firſt expedition into Sicily; that it was to take the Mamertines under their protection; to defend a people, who, in ſeizing Rhegium and Meſſana, had been guilty

guilty of an act of flagrant perfidy; it muſt be acknowledged, that it will not altogether be an eaſy taſk, to excuſe or juſtify the Romans. But to affirm, that this deſcent was made in violation of any Treaty, is an inſtance of the greateſt ignorance.

When the War of Sicily was ended, another Treaty was concluded, in the following terms.

"The Carthaginians ſhall abandon Sicily, with all the Iſlands that lie between Sicily and Italy. The Allies of both Republicks ſhall be ſafe from violence. It ſhall not be permitted to either people, to exerciſe any act of power, build any fortreſs, or levy ſoldiers, in the territory of the other: nor ſhall the Allies of the one be received into any alliance with the other. The Carthaginians ſhall pay immediately one thouſand Talents; and two thouſand two hundred more, in the courſe of ten years: and they ſhall reſtore the Roman priſoners without ranſom."

At the end of the African War, when the Romans had again declared War againſt Carthage, ſome new conditions were added to this Treaty: by which, the Carthaginians conſented "to give up Sardinia, and to pay another ſum of twelve hundred Talents."

The laſt Treaty, or Convention, was that made with Aſdrubal in Spain: by which it was ſtipulated, "that the Carthaginians ſhould not paſs the Iberus with an army."

Theſe are the ſeveral Treaties, that ever were concluded between the Carthaginians and the Romans, to the time of Annibal. It is eaſy to remark from theſe, that the firſt invaſion of Sicily by the Romans was by no means made in violation of thoſe engagements, which they had ſworn to obſerve. But on the other hand, when they declared war a ſecond time againſt the Carthaginians, and forced them to yield up Sardinia, and to pay a heavier Tribute; it muſt be owned, that they had no cauſe at all, nor any colour of juſtice, for ſuch proceeding:

proceeding: but baſely took advantage of the diſtreſſes, in which the Republick was then involved. For with regard to that which is ſometimes urged in their defence; that, in the time of the African War, ſome Roman merchants were injuriouſly treated by the Carthaginians; we have ſeen particularly in the former Book, that the Carthaginians, upon the firſt complaint, releaſed all thoſe that had been detained in their ports: and that the Romans, in acknowledgement of the favour that had been ſhewn them by this compliance, immediately ſent home, without any ranſom, all the Carthaginian priſoners.

Since this then is the true ſtate of things on both ſides, it remains that we at laſt inquire, whether the War muſt in juſtice be imputed to the Carthaginians, or the Romans. We have already ſeen the reaſons, which the former urged in vindication of their conduct. Let us now conſider thoſe that have been advanced in oppoſition to them: not indeed by the Romans of that age; who were ſo greatly enraged at the deſtruction of Saguntum, that they could not even attend to any reaſons: but by thoſe of later times. It is ſaid then, that the Treaty made with Aſdrubal was by no means to be diſregarded, as the Carthaginians had the boldneſs to affirm: ſince it did not reſt upon any ſuch reſerved condition as was found in the Treaty of Lutatius, which ended with theſe expreſs terms; "Theſe conditions ſhall be firm and binding, in caſe that they be ratified by the Roman people;" but was fully and finally concluded by the authority of Aſdrubal. And by this Treaty it was ſtipulated, "that the Carthaginians ſhould not paſs the Iberus with an army." It is alſo urged, that by the Treaty which put an end to the war of Sicily, it was provided, "that no injury ſhould be offered to the Allies of either people:" that this was not to be underſtood, as the Carthaginians laboured to explain it, concerning thoſe alone, who were at that time in alliance with them: for in that caſe,

ſomething of this kind would have been added; "No new alliance ſhould be made by either people:" or, "The Allies, which either people may hereafter make, ſhall not be included in the terms of the preſent Treaty:" but that, as no ſuch caution was inſerted, it was manifeſt, that the ſecurity thus mentioned in the Treaty related not to thoſe alone who were at that time in the alliance of either people, but to all that ſhould afterwards be admitted to it. And in truth this way of reaſoning ſeems to be perfectly juſt and ſolid. For it is not to be conceived that theſe two Republicks would have conſented to any Treaty, that ſhould deprive them of the power of receiving into their alliance ſuch nations as occaſion might preſent, or of defending them, when received, from every kind of injury. In a word, their whole intention may be thus explained. With reſpect to the people that were then in alliance with them, it is provided, that they ſhall be ſecure from violence: and that thoſe who had embraced the protection of either State, ſhould not be admitted as Allies of the other. And with regard to the Allies, that might afterwards be received; they ſeem to have been clearly enough deſigned in the following caution: "It ſhall not be permitted to either people, to levy ſoldiers, or to exerciſe any act of power in the territories, or the allied provinces, of the other. On both ſides, all ſhall be ſafe, and free from injury."

Now the people of Saguntum, many years before the time of Annibal, had placed their city under the protection of the Romans. Of this there is undoubted evidence, in a fact that was acknowledged even by the Carthaginians themſelves. For when their government was diſturbed by ſome inteſtine tumults, the Saguntines, inſtead of having recourſe to the Carthaginians, who were at that time ſettled in their neighbourhood, and had obtained great power in Spain, referred all their conteſts to the ſole deciſion of the Romans, and with the help of their authority reſtored order to their State.

On

On the whole then, it may fairly be concluded, that if the deſtruction of Saguntum was the cauſe of the War, it was unjuſtly entered into by the Carthaginians: that it was contrary to the Treaty of Lutatius; which provided, that no injury ſhould be offered to the Allies of either people: and a manifeſt violation alſo of the Convention made with Aſdrubal; in which it was ſtipulated, that the Carthaginians ſhould not paſs the Iberus with an army. But on the other hand, if the Carthaginians engaged in the war, becauſe they had been forced to yield up Sardinia, and pay a ſecond Tribute; if they only ſeized the firſt favourable occaſion, of avenging all the inſults and the loſſes, which their enemies, taking advantage alſo of the times, had brought upon them; it muſt then be owned, that their conduct may well be vindicated, upon the principles of reaſon and of juſtice.

Among the undiſcerning part of my readers, many perhaps will think, that I am too minute and tedious in theſe inquiries. It is true indeed, that a diſtinct and cloſe ſurvey of paſt events, though it might yield ſome entertainment to the curious, would however be of little uſe if mankind were able of themſelves, without the aſſiſtance o. ample, to repel effectually every ſtroke of fortune, and obviate the evils that are incident to life. But ſuch is human nature, that this can by no means be affirmed, either of publick ſocieties, or of ſingle men: ſince the moſt fair and flouriſhing condition is ſo ſubject to decay and change, that we can build no laſting expectations on it. And it is on this account, that the knowledge of paſt tranſactions ought to be eſteemed not a mere amuſement only, but rather an inſtructive and a neceſſary ſtudy. For unleſs we have made due reflection upon the conduct of men in former times, how ſhall we learn the arts of gaining allies and friends, when any danger threatens our country, or ourſelves? If we meditate any conqueſt, or form any project of importance, how ſhall we be able, without this knowledge,

to make choice of proper inſtruments for the execution of our deſigns? Or, in caſe that we are ſatisfied with our preſent ſtate and fortunes, how ſhall we ſupport ourſelves by ſuch laſting ſtrength and credit, as may at all times guard our intereſts from every thing that would undermine and ſhake them? For thoſe among whom we live, like actors on a ſtage, appear before us under ſuch a dreſs, as beſt may ſuit with the preſent times, and with the characters which they aſſume. To theſe their words and actions are all accommodated: ſo that it is hardly poſſible to penetrate into their real ſentiments, or draw out the truth to light, from the darkneſs under which it is induſtriouſly concealed. But in the accounts of former ages, the facts themſelves diſcloſe to us the real views, and genuine diſpoſition of the actors. And from hence we are enabled to diſcern, in various circumſtances, from whom we reaſonably may expect good offices, favour, aſſiſtance, or the contrary: and to know with perfect certainty, what kind of perſons may be induced to compaſſionate our diſtreſſes, defend our cauſe with zeal, and join us in avenging any injuries, to which we may have been expoſed. A knowledge ſurely of the greateſt uſe and benefit, both in the adminiſtration of publick affairs, and in the conduct alſo of private life. But in order to gain this end, it will be neceſſary, that both the author and the reader, inſtead of being ſatisfied with a bare relation of events, ſhould carefully conſider all that paſſed both before and after, as well as at the time of each tranſaction. For if we take from Hiſtory, the motives to which every action owed it's birth; the manner in which it was carried into execution; the end that was propoſed; and whether the event was anſwerable or not to the firſt deſign; what remains is a mere exerciſe fit for ſchools, and not a work of ſcience; and though it may afford perhaps ſome tranſient amuſement to the mind, is not capable of yielding any ſound inſtruction, or laſting ſervice.

If

If any one ſhould think, that few perſons will be inclined either to buy, or read, this Hiſtory, on account of the number and the bulk of the Books which it contains; let him conſider, that it is much leſs difficult, both to purchaſe and to read through forty Books, which give a cloſe and uninterrupted relation of the affairs of Italy, Sicily, and Afric, from the time of Pyrrhus, at which the Hiſtory of Timæus is concluded, to the deſtruction of Carthage; and of all the great events that happened in the other parts of the world, from the flight of Cleomenes the Spartan, to the battle between the Achæans and the Romans near the Iſthmus; than either to procure, or read, all the ſeparate and particular Hiſtories of theſe tranſactions. For beſides that they exceed in bulk the ſize of this Work, it is certain alſo, that no real knowledge or improvement can be expected from them. For they not only differ from each other in their accounts of facts; but in general take no notice of many great events, that were coincident with thoſe which they relate; and from which, if all of them were ranged together, and comprehended under one ſingle view, the mind would be enabled to form a far more perfect judgement of the truth, than it can ever gain from a diſtinct and ſeparate ſurvey of each. We may alſo add, that by the very nature of their works theſe writers are debarred from thoſe inquiries, which are of the firſt and chief importance. For the moſt uſeful part of hiſtory, as we have already mentioned, is the knowledge of what paſſed before and after every great event; and eſpecially of the cauſes that produced it. Thus for inſtance, the War of Philip gave occaſion to that of Antiochus; that of Annibal, to the War with Philip; and the War of Sicily, to that of Annibal: and between theſe Wars, a great variety of incidents intervened, which, though different perhaps in their firſt aim and purpoſe, were at laſt all inclined together towards the ſame ſingle end. Now this may all be fully underſtood from General Hiſtory; but by no means

means from the accounts of ſingle wars; as that of Perſeus, for inſtance, or of Philip. It might with equal reaſon be ſuppoſed, that the bare deſcription of particular battles, as they are found in theſe hiſtorians, would be ſufficient to convey a perfect knowledge of the diſpoſition and entire œconomy of a whole war. But as this can never be expected from them, it is manifeſt, that a Work like mine muſt be judged in all points to excel particular Hiſtories, as much as ſolid inſtruction is to be preferred to an empty tale. We now return from this digreſſion.

CHAP. IV.

WHEN the Carthaginians had ended their diſcourſe, the Romans made no reply to the arguments which they had urged in their defence. But the oldeſt of the ambaſſadors, folding his garment round him, and ſhewing it to the Senate, told them, that therein were contained both Peace and War; and they might chooſe whichever of the two beſt pleaſed them. The King of the Carthaginians anſwered, that he might throw out that which was moſt agreeable to himſelf. And when the ambaſſador replied, that it ſhould be War; the Senate with almoſt one voice cried out, that they accepted it: after which the Aſſembly ſeparated.

Annibal was at this time in winter quarters at New Carthage. He firſt ſent home the Spaniards to their ſeveral cities: in the hope, that by this indulgence he ſhould fix them in his intereſts, and oblige them to his ſervice for the time to come. He afterwards gave inſtructions to his brother Aſdrubal, for governing the country in his abſence, and defending it againſt the Romans. His laſt care was, in what manner he might moſt effectually provide for the quiet and ſecurity of Afric. For this purpoſe, he put in practice a very ſenſible and

and wiſe expedient: making a body of African troops paſs over into Spain, and another body of Spaniards into Afric; and thus connecting both thoſe countries in the bonds of a reciprocal fidelity. The troops of Spain that were ſent into Afric, were the Therſitæ, Maſtians, ſome Spaniards of the mountains, and the Olcades. Their numbers amounted in the whole to twelve hundred Horſe, and thirteen thouſand, eight hundred, and fifty Foot. To theſe were added alſo eight hundred and ſeventy Baleares: a people, whoſe name, as well as that of the iſland which they inhabit, is derived from their cuſtom of uſing a Sling in battle. Theſe troops were all diſtributed through the parts of Afric called Metagonia; a ſmall number only excepted, who were ſent to Carthage. Four thouſand Metagonitans were ſtationed alſo in that city: as well to ſerve as hoſtages, as to aſſiſt in the defence of the place.

With Aſdrubal in Spain, he left fifty Quinqueremes, two Quadriremes, and five Triremes. Thirty-two of the Quinqueremes, and the five Triremes, were completely equipped. To theſe he added likewiſe a body of forces, both Horſe and Foot. The Cavalry conſiſted of four hundred and fifty Libyphœnicians, and Africans; three hundrd Lorgitæ; and a mixed body of eighteen hundred, compoſed of Numidians, Maſſylians, Macians, Maſſæſylians, and Mauruſians, whoſe country lay towards the Ocean. The infantry was compoſed of eleven thouſand, eight hundred, and fifty Africans; three hundred Ligurians; and five hundred Baleares; together with twenty-one Elephants. If I have given here a more preciſe and accurate detail of all that was now tranſacted by Annibal in Spain, than could perhaps have been expected even from one who himſelf had born ſome part in the conduct of thoſe affairs, I muſt deſire the reader not to think it ſtrange; nor to rank me among thoſe writers, who cover their own fictions under ſuch a dreſs, as may ſeem moſt nearly to reſemble the form

form of truth. For I found at Lacinium a Table of braſs, on which all theſe circumſtances were engraved, by the orders of Annibal himſelf, when he was in Italy. And as this ſeemed to be a monument of the firſt authority, I have cloſely copied it in my relation.

Annibal, having thus provided in the fulleſt manner for the ſecurity both of Spain and Afric, now waited only for the arrival of thoſe meſſengers, that were expected to return to him from the Gauls. For he had endeavoured to inform himſelf, with all the exactneſs that was poſſible, of the fertility of the country that lay beneath the Alps, and along the Po: of the numbers, and courage of the people: and above all, whether they ſtill retained any reſentment againſt the Romans, from their former wars; of which we have already given ſome account, that the reader might more fully comprehend the things which we are now going to relate. His chief expectations of ſucceſs in his intended enterprize were built indeed upon the aſſiſtance which he hoped to find among the Gauls. For it ſeemed ſcarcely poſſible, to maintain the war in Italy againſt the Romans, unleſs theſe nations could be engaged to join him with their forces, after he had firſt ſurmounted the difficulties of the country that lay between. He ſent therefore, with the greateſt care, to all the Chiefs that lived among the Alps, and to thoſe likewiſe who poſſeſſed the country on this ſide of them; and endeavoured by every kind of promiſe to tempt their hopes, and draw them to his party. At laſt, when his meſſengers were returned, and had informed him, that the Gauls were perfectly diſpoſed to favour his deſign, and even expected his approach with eagerneſs; and that the paſſage acroſs the Alps, though likely to be attended with great pains and difficulty, was ſuch however, as in the end might be ſurmounted; as the Spring advanced, he drew out all his forces from their winter quarters. The news alſo, which he had juſt before received from Carthage, had greatly

raiſed his hopes, and given him full aſſurance of the approbation of his fellow-citizens. He now therefore openly declared his intentions to the army, and exhorted them to make war againſt the Romans. He informed them of the manner in which this people had demanded, that himſelf, together with the other Chiefs, ſhould be delivered into their hands. He deſcribed the richneſs of the country, through which they were to paſs: and acquainted them with the favourable diſpoſition of the Gauls, and the promiſe which they had made to join him with their forces. When the multitude cried out, that they would chearfully attend him, he applauded their alacrity, fixed the day for their departure, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

Theſe things then being all thus regulated during the time of winter, and the neceſſary meaſures taken for the ſecurity of both Spain and Afric, on the day appointed Annibal began his march, with ninety thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe. He paſſed the Iberus, and with incredible rapidity, though not without many obſtinate battles, and a great loſs of men, reduced all the nations that inhabited between that river and the Pyrenæan mountains: the Ilurgetes, Barguſians, Ærenoſians, and Andoſinians. He gave to Hanno the care of the conquered countries: with a power to exerciſe an entire and abſolute ſovereignty over the Barguſians, becauſe theſe eſpecially were ſuſpected of favouring the intereſts of the Romans. He left alſo with him a detachment from his army, of ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe: together with all the baggage of the troops, that were deſigned to attend him into Italy. He ſent back likewiſe an equal number of the Spaniſh forces to their ſeveral cities: being deſirous not only to ſecure to himſelf, by this indulgence, the favour of the people that were now diſmiſſed; but to encourage alſo, by the hope of returning again to their native country, both the troops that were engaged to follow him in the preſent expe-

dition, and thoſe likewſe that were left behind in Spain, in caſe that he ſhould want their ſervice, in any future exigency.

The army thus diſincumbered of the heavy baggage, and conſiſting in the whole of fifty thouſand Foot and nine thouſand Horſe, continued their march forwards, by the way of the Pyrenæan mountains, in order to paſs the Rhone: being not ſo conſiderable in their numbers, as from the goodneſs of their troops. For they were all tried ſoldiers: men, well diſciplined, and inured to action, by the continual engagements which they had ſuſtained in Spain.

But in order to clear this part of our hiſtory from all obſcurity, it will be neceſſary to trace out diſtinctly the country from whence Annibal began his march, the places through which he paſſed, and the way by which he firſt entered Italy. Nor will it be ſufficient, barely to inſert the names of rivers and of cities, as ſome hiſtorians have done; imagining, that the recital of their names alone muſt at once convey a full conception of the places. With regard to thoſe places indeed, with which we have been before acquainted, the mention of their names, as it recalls them to the memory, perhaps may be ſufficient for the end that is propoſed. But with reſpect to thoſe, of which we have no previous knowledge, it muſt be allowed, that no greater advantage can ariſe from the bare recital of their names, than from the repetition of any other ſounds that are void of ſenſe and meaning, which only ſtrike the ear, but make no impreſſion on the underſtanding. For unleſs the mind has ſomething to which it can apply and fix itſelf; ſomething already conceived and underſtood, to which that which is heard may be referred; it muſt of neceſſity be loſt in doubt and ignorance. Since therefore we are to ſpeak of things unknown, we ſhall endeavour to lead the reader to a right apprehenſion of them, by connecting them with thoſe that are already known and familiar to him.

The firſt and moſt general notion then, in which all man-

kind agree, and which even the vulgar apprehend, is that by which we conceive the heavens round us to be divided into the four quarters, of Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South. The next ſtep is, to conſider the ſeveral parts of the earth, as lying beneath the one or other of theſe diviſions: and thus we are able to refer, even the places which we have never ſeen or known, to ſome ſettled and determinate conception. This being done with regard to the whole earth, it remains that we obſerve the ſame method of diviſion, in ſpeaking of that portion of it which we know to be inhabited. Now this conſiſts of three ſeparate parts; the firſt of which is called Aſia, the ſecond Afric, and the laſt Europe: and theſe are bounded by the Tanais, the Nile, and the Straits of the Pillars of Hercules. Between the Tanais and the Nile, lies Aſia: and it's ſituation with reſpect to the heavens, is beneath that ſpace, which is contained between the North-eaſt and the South. Afric lies between the Nile and the Pillars of Hercules: under that part of the heavens, which extends from the South to the South-weſt; and from thence, forwards to the Weſt, which coincides with the Pillars of Hercules. So that theſe two countries, taken together in a general view, poſſeſs all the ſpace from Eaſt to Weſt, on the ſouthern ſide of the Mediterranean ſea. Oppoſite to theſe, on the north ſide of the ſame ſea, lies Europe; being extended alſo, without any interruption, from Eaſt to Weſt. The greateſt and the moſt conſiderable part of it is that which falls beneath the North, and poſſeſſes all the ſpace between the river Tanais and Narbo: which laſt place is ſituated towards the Weſt, at a ſmall diſtance only from Maſſilia, and thoſe mouths by which the Rhone diſcharges itſelf into the Sardinian ſea. The Gauls are the people who poſſeſs the country from Narbo to the Pyrenæan mountains; which extend in one continued chain from the Mediterranean ſea to the Ocean. The reſt of Europe, from theſe mountains weſtward to the Pillars of Hercules, is bounded partly by the

Mediterranean, and partly by the Ocean, or exterior Sea. The country which lies along the former, as far as to the Pillars of Hercules, is called Spain. But that which is waſhed by the exterior, or great Sea, having been but lately diſcovered, has not yet obtained any ſettled name. It is poſſeſſed by a race of barbarous people, who are very numerous; and of whom we ſhall take occaſion to ſpeak more particularly in another place. But as it has never yet been known with any certainty, whether Æthiopia, which is the place where Aſia and Afric meet together, be a Continent extending forwards to the South, or whether it be ſurrounded by the ſea; ſo thoſe parts of Europe likewiſe, that lie between Narbo and the Tanais towards the North, have hitherto been quite concealed from our diſcoveries. In ſome future time, perhaps our pains may lead us to a knowledge of thoſe countries. But all that has hitherto been written or reported of them, muſt be conſidered as mere fable and invention, and not the fruit of any real ſearch, or genuine information.

This, I think, will be ſufficient to give the reader ſome conception even of thoſe places to which he is a ſtranger; as he may now be able always to refer them to the one or other of theſe general diviſions, marked out and aſcertained by the poſition of the heavens: and may turn his mind towards them, as often as they are named in the courſe of this Work, in the ſame manner as the eye directs it's view to any object that is pointed out to it's obſervance. We now reſume our narration.

The Carthaginians were at this time poſſeſſed of all that part of Afric, which lies along the Mediterranean ſea, from the Philænean Altars, which are oppoſite to the greater Syrtis, to the Pillars of Hercules. This coaſt, in it's full extent, includes a ſpace of more than ſixteen thouſand ſtadia. They had alſo paſſed the Straits, and ſubdued all Spain as far as to thoſe rocks, which on the ſide towards the Mediterranean ſea, form

form the extreme point of the Pyrenæan mountains; the boundary that divides Spain from Gaul. Theſe rocks are diſtant from the Pillars of Hercules about eight thouſand ſtadia.

The diſtance from the ſame Pillars to New Carthage, from whence Annibal began his march towards Italy, is three thouſand ſtadia: from that city to the Iberus, two thouſand ſix hundred: from thence to Emporium, ſixteen hundred: and the ſame number afterwards to the paſſage of the Rhone. For the whole of this route has been accurately meaſured by the Romans: and diſtinguiſhed by diſtances, each of eight ſtadia. From the paſſage of the Rhone, if we take our courſe up the river, to the beginning of the Alps, we may count the diſtance to be fourteen hundred ſtadia; and the road acroſs thoſe mountains, till we arrive in the Plains that are watered by the Po, twelve hundred more. Thus the route, which Annibal now deſigned to take, from New Carthage into Italy, contained in it's whole length about nine thouſand ſtadia.

He had already ſurmounted almoſt one half of this long march: but the moſt dangerous and difficult part was yet to come. He was now preparing to lead his army through the paſſes of the Pyrenæan mountains, not without ſome apprehenſion, that the Gauls might take advantage of the ſtrength of thoſe defiles, and fall upon him in his march; when the Romans were informed by the ambaſſadors, of all that had been debated and determined in the Senate of Carthage, and at the ſame time heard with great ſurprize, that Annibal was already advanced beyond the Iberus. They reſolved therefore, that an army ſhould immediately be raiſed and ſent to Spain, under the command of Publius Cornelius; and another, with Tiberius Sempronius, into Afric. And while the Conſuls were employed in perfecting the levies, and making all the neceſſary preparations, they uſed their utmoſt diligence to complete the ſettlement of thoſe Colonies, which they had ſome time before reſolved

reſolved to ſend into Gaul. They made haſte to incloſe the towns with walls: and ordered the citizens that were to inhabit them, of whom ſix thouſand were allotted to each colony, to be all preſent on the place within thirty days. The one of theſe new cities was built on this ſide of the Po, and called Placentia: the other, on the other ſide; and was named Cremona.

But ſcarcely were the inhabitants arrived, when the Boian Gauls, who had long watched in ſecret for ſome favourable occaſion to ſhake off their alliance with the Romans, being now encouraged by the near approach of the Carthaginian army, reſolved openly to revolt; ſhewing no regard to the ſafety of their countrymen, whom they had given as hoſtages, at the concluſion of their laſt war againſt the Romans, which we deſcribed in the former Book. And having prevailed with the Inſubrians likewiſe, whoſe old reſentment againſt the Romans was not yet extinguiſhed, to aſſiſt them with their forces, they waſted all their lands that were allotted to theſe new colonies; purſued the Romans, who fled before them, as far as Mutina, another of their colonies, and inveſted them cloſely in the place. There were among them three Romans of diſtinguiſhed rank; who had been ſent to inſpect the diſtribution of the lands. One of them, Caius Lutatius, was of Conſular; and the other two, of Prætorian dignity. Theſe deſired to have an interview with the enemy; to which the Boians readily conſented. But as they were returning from the conference, the Gauls treacherouſly ſeized and kept them priſoners; imagining, that through their means they ſhould recover their own Hoſtages from the Romans. The Prætor L. Manlius, who was poſted with ſome troops upon the frontiers of the country, no ſooner was informed of what had happened, than he advanced in haſte towards the enemy. But the Boians, having placed their army in ambuſcade in a certain foreſt, through which the Romans were to paſs, as

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ſoon as they appeared, fell ſuddenly upon them from every quarter, and killed many of them. The reſt fled at firſt with great precipitation. But having gained the neighbouring hills, they rallied again their broken forces, and retreated with ſome kind of order, but in a manner that was ſcarcely honourable. The Gauls followed cloſe behind; and blocked up theſe troops likewiſe in a village that was called Tanes, into which they had retired. As ſoon as it was known at Rome, that their army was thus cloſely inveſted by the enemy, and the ſiege preſſed with vigour; they ſent away immediately to their relief, under the conduct of a Prætor, the legions that had been raiſed for Publius; and gave orders, that the Conſul ſhould make new levies, among the Allies. Such then in general, as we have deſcribed it both here and in the former parts of this Work, was the ſtate and condition of the Gauls, from their firſt ſettlement in the country, to the time of Annibal's arrival in it.

The Roman Conſuls, having ſeverally completed all the neceſſary preparations, ſailed out to ſea in the beginning of the Spring: Publius, with ſixty veſſels to go into Spain; and Tiberius, with a fleet of a hundred and ſixty Quinqueremes, to proſecute the war in Afric. The zeal and eagerneſs that appeared in the conduct of the laſt of theſe, and the preparations which he made at Lilybæum, drawing together troops and ſtores of every kind and from every quarter, were all ſo great and formidable, that it ſeemed as if he meditated nothing leſs, than to lay ſiege to Carthage itſelf upon his firſt arrival. Publius, ſteering his courſe along the Ligurian coaſt, arrived on the fifth day in the neighbourhood of Maſſilia. And having anchored in the firſt mouth of the Rhone, which was called the Maſſilian mouth, he landed his forces there. He had heard, that Annibal had already paſſed the Pyrenæan mountains; but was perſuaded, that he muſt ſtill be at a conſiderable diſtance from him: as the country through which

which he was to march was extremely difficult, and the Gauls around him very numerous. But Annibal, having with wonderful ſucceſs gained ſome of the Gauls with preſents, and reduced the reſt by force, continued his route forwards, keeping the Sea of Sardinia on his right, and was now arrived upon the banks of the Rhone. When the news came, that the enemy was ſo near, Publius, being in part ſurprized at this celerity, which ſeemed indeed to exceed all belief, and partly deſirous alſo to be informed exactly of the truth, ſent away three hundred of the braveſt of his Horſe to make diſcoveries, together with a body of Gallic mercenaries that belonged to the Maſſilians; who were to ſerve as guides, and to ſupport the Cavalry alſo, if there ſhould be occaſion for it; while himſelf, in the mean time, employed his care, to recover the troops from the fatigue which they had ſuffered in the voyage; and conſulted with the Tribunes, concerning the poſts that were moſt proper to be taken, and the place in which they might with beſt advantage meet and offer battle to the enemy.

Annibal, having now fixed his camp upon the Rhone, at the diſtance of about four days journey from the ſea, reſolved to make his paſſage in that place; becauſe the ſtream was narrow there, and confined within the proper channel of the river. By his gentle treatment of thoſe that lived along the banks, he prevailed upon them to ſell to him all their canoes and boats, the number of which was very great: for almoſt all the people that dwell near the Rhone, are employed in conſtant commerce upon the ſea. They ſupplied him alſo with the wood that was proper for making the canoes: and in two days time, an incredible quantity of thoſe veſſels was finiſhed by the army. For the ſoldiers all attended to their taſk with the greateſt earneſtneſs: as if each man had reſolved to be indebted to no labour but his own, for his paſſage acroſs the river. But about this time, a very great army of Barbarians

rians appeared on the other ſide, ready to oppoſe the Carthaginians in their landing. Annibal, having ſeen their numbers, and conſidered with himſelf, that as it was by no means poſſible to paſs the river in defiance of ſo great a force, ſo on the other hand, in caſe that he ſhould long remain in his preſent poſt, he muſt ſoon be incloſed on every ſide by enemies, as ſoon as the third night came on, ſent away a part of his army under the care of Hanno, the ſon of King Bomilcar, with ſome of the natives of the country to ſerve as guides. Theſe troops, when they had marched about two hundred ſtadia up the ſtream, at laſt reſted in a place, where a ſmall iſland divided the river into two. And having cut down trees from a neighbouring foreſt, ſome of which they joined, and bound ſome together with cords in a haſty manner, in a ſhort time they completed a number of floats ſufficient for the preſent neceſſity, and paſſed the river upon them without any reſiſtance from the enemy. And having ſeized a ſtrong and advantageous poſt, they remained upon it during that whole day: repoſing themſelves after the fatigue of their march; and making all things ready for the enſuing combat, agreeably to the orders which they had received. The reſt of the troops, that were left with Annibal, were in like manner employed in taking ſuch refreſhment as was neceſſary, and completing all their preparations. But the point of greateſt difficulty was, to contrive a method for the ſafe paſſage of the Elephants, which were thirty-ſeven in number: and this indeed occaſioned no ſmall embarraſſment and pain.

On the fifth night after the arrival of the Carthaginians upon the Rhone, the detachment, that had already paſſed it, began their march before break of day, and advanced along the banks of the river towards the enemy. At the ſame time Annibal, having all his troops in readineſs, diſpoſed every thing for their immediate paſſage. The larger boats were filled with the heavy-armed Horſe: and the Infantry em-

barked in the canoes. The firſt were ſtationed higher up the ſtream; while the latter took their place below them: that when the ſtrength and violence of the current had firſt been broken by the heavier veſſels, the paſſage of the reſt might be more ſecure and eaſy. The horſes were made to ſwim acroſs; being towed along behind the larger boats. And as three or four were in this manner conducted together by a ſingle ſoldier, who was placed for that purpoſe upon either ſide of the ſtern of every veſſel, a conſiderable number of them were landed on the other ſide, in the very firſt paſſage over.

The Barbarians, as ſoon as they perceived the diſpoſition that was made, ran down from their camp in crouds, without obſerving any order; and were perſuaded that they ſhould be able, with the greateſt eaſe, to prevent the Carthaginians from landing. But Annibal, having now diſcerned the ſmoke on the other ſide, which the detachment from his army had been directed to make, as the ſignal of their near approach, ordered all the troops to get immediately on board; and that thoſe, who were in the larger veſſels, ſhould direct their courſe againſt the ſtream, in ſuch a manner as might moſt effectually break it's violence. His orders were executed in an inſtant. The troops, as they embarked, purſued their work with loud and eager emulation: animating each other by their cries, and ſtruggling with all their ſtrength, to ſurmount the violence of the ſtream: while the view of both the armies, with which the banks on either ſide were covered; the cries of the Carthaginians from the ſhore, calling after their companions, and ſeeming as it were to divide their labour with them; the noiſe of the barbarians on the other ſide, who demanded the combat with loud ſcreams and ſhouts; formed all together a ſcene of great aſtoniſhment and horror. At this time, the troops that were led by Hanno appeared ſuddenly on the other ſide. And while one part of them ſet fire to the camp of the enemy, which was left without defence, the reſt

and

and greater part made haſte to fall upon the rear of thoſe that were defending the paſſage of the river. The barbarians were ſtruck with terror, at an event ſo ſtrange and unexpected. Some ran in haſte towards the camp, to ſtop the progreſs of the flames: while others were conſtrained to turn, and defend themſelves againſt the enemy. When Annibal perceived, that all things had conſpired moſt favourably with his deſigns, as faſt as the forces landed, he drew them up in order, and led them to the charge. The barbarians, who had begun the combat in diſorder, and whoſe conſternation was now completed by the ſudden attack that was made upon them from behind, were in a ſhort time routed, and forced to fly. The Carthaginian General, being thus in the ſame inſtant maſter of his paſſage, and victorious againſt the enemy, gave immediate orders for paſſing the reſt of the army over. And having in a ſhort time brought all the troops to land, he incamped that night along the border of the river.

On the following day, Annibal, having received the news that the Roman fleet had caſt anchor near the mouth of the Rhone, ſent away a body of five hundred Numidian Horſe, to take a view of the ſituation of the enemy, and to diſcover their numbers and deſigns. He gave directions alſo for the paſſage of the Elephants acroſs the river. And having afterwards called together the troops, he introduced among them Magilus, a petty King, who had come to him from the country near the Po; and who now, with the help of an interpreter, informed the aſſembly of all the reſolutions, which the Gauls had taken in their favour. This expedient was ſuch indeed, as could ſcarcely fail to raiſe the ſpirits of the army, and inſpire them with confidence and courage. For in the firſt place, as the bare ſight alone and preſence of the Gauls, exhorting them to proceed in their deſigns, and promiſing that they would bear an equal part in all the fortunes of the war, was itſelf a circumſtance of great force and moment; ſo

the aſſurance likewiſe, that was now repeated by this people, that they would lead the army into Italy, by a way that was both ſhort and ſafe, and through places that would yield a full ſupply to all their wants, ſeemed highly probable, and ſuch as well deſerved their credit. They ſpoke with great advantage alſo of the extent and richneſs of the country, into which they were going to enter; and of the zeal and prompt alacrity of the people, upon whoſe aſſiſtance they deſigned chiefly to rely, for maintaining the war againſt the Romans.

The Gauls, after this diſcourſe, retired: and Annibal himſelf came into the aſſembly. He began with reminding the ſoldiers of their paſt exploits. He deſired them to remember, that though they had often been engaged in deſigns of the greateſt difficulty as well as danger, they had never yet failed in any enterprize, becauſe they had been always careful to repoſe a perfect confidence in the wiſdom of their General, and paid an entire ſubmiſſion to his will. He exhorted them, to be ſtill aſſured of the ſame ſucceſs: and to be perſuaded, that they had already accompliſhed the moſt important part of their intended labour; ſince they had happily paſſed the Rhone, and ſeen with their own eyes the friendly diſpoſition of their allies towards them, and their zeal for the war. With regard therefore to the particular meaſures that were now to be purſued, he conjured them to throw away all concern; and to reſt ſecurely upon his care and conduct, for the entire management of the whole. That they ſhould be ready only to receive and execute his orders; to acquit themſelves at all times like men of courage; and maintain the glory of their former actions. The multitude teſtified their applauſe by ſhouts; and ſhewed the greateſt ardour and alacrity. Annibal praiſed their zeal: and having recommended them all to the favour and protection of the Gods, and directed them to make all things ready for their march on the following day, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

About this time, the Numidian Horſe, that had been ſent to make diſcoveries, returned to the camp. A great part of the detachment had been killed; and the reſt were forced to fly. For no ſooner had they gained a moderate diſtance from the camp, than they were met by the detachment of the Roman Cavalry, which Publius had ſent away upon the ſame deſign. The engagement that enſued between them was ſo ſharp and obſtinate, that a hundred and forty Gauls and Romans fell on one ſide, and more than two hundred Numidians on the other. The Romans, in purſuit of thoſe that fled, advanced even cloſe to the intrenchments of the Carthaginians: and having taken an exact and thorough view of all the camp, they returned again in haſte, and informed the Conſul of the arrival of the enemy. Publius, having firſt ſent the baggage to the ſhips, immediately decamped, and advanced with all the army along the banks of the river, with deſign to overtake the Carthaginians, and to force them to a battle without delay.

But early in the morning of the following day, Annibal, having poſted his Cavalry as a reſerve on the ſide towards the ſea, commanded the Infantry to begin their march: while himſelf waited to receive the Elephants, and the men that were left with them on the other ſide of the river. The paſſage of the Elephants was performed in the following manner. When they had made a ſufficient number of Floats, they joined two together, and faſtened them ſtrongly to the ground, upon the bank of the river. The breadth of both together was about fifty feet. To the extremity of theſe, they fixed two more, which were extended over into the water: and to prevent the whole from being looſened and carried down the river by the rapidity of the current, they ſecured the ſide, that was turned againſt the ſtream, by ſtrong cables faſtened to the trees along the bank. Having in this manner finiſhed a kind of bridge, which

which was extended to the length of about two hundred feet, they then added to it two other Floats of a much larger ſize; which were very firmly joined together; but were faſtened in ſo ſlight a manner to the reſt, that they might at any time be ſeparated from them with little difficulty. A great number of ropes were fixed to theſe laſt Floats: by the help of which, the boats, that were deſigned to tow them over, might hold them firm againſt the violence of the ſtream, and carry them in ſafety with the Elephants to the other ſide. They then ſpread a quantity of earth over all the Floats: that their colour and appearance might, as nearly as was poſſible, reſemble the ground on ſhore. The Elephants were uſually very tractable upon land, and eaſy to be governed by their conductors: but were at all times under the greateſt apprehenſions, whenever they approached the water. Upon this occaſion therefore they took two female Elephants, and led them firſt along the Floats. The reſt readily followed. But no ſooner were they arrived upon the fartheſt Floats, than, the ropes being cut which bound them to the reſt, they were immediately towed away by the boats towards the other ſide. The Elephants were ſeized with extreme dread; and moved from ſide to ſide, in great fury and diſorder. But when they ſaw that they were every way ſurrounded by the water, their very fears at laſt conſtrained them to remain quiet in their place. In this manner, two other Floats being from time to time prepared and fitted to the reſt, the greater part of the Elephants were carried ſafely over. There were ſome indeed, that were ſo much diſordered by their fears, that they threw themſelves into the river in the midſt of their paſſage. This accident was fatal to their conductors, who periſhed in the ſtream. But the beaſts themſelves, exerting all their ſtrength, and raiſing their large trunks above the ſurface of the river, were by that means enabled not only to breath freely, but to diſcharge the waters alſo,

alſo, as faſt as they received them: and having by long ſtruggling ſurmounted likewiſe the rapidity of the ſtream, they at laſt all gained the oppoſite bank in ſafety.

As ſoon as this work was finiſhed, Annibal, making his rear guard of the Elephants and Cavalry, continued his march along the river; directing his route from the ſea towards the Eaſt, as if he had deſigned to paſs into the middle parts of Europe.

The Rhone has it's ſources above the Adriatic Gulph, in thoſe parts of the Alps that ſtand towards the North, and at firſt flows weſtward. But afterwards, it bends it's ſtream towards the South-weſt; and diſcharges itſelf into the Sardinian ſea. This river runs chiefly through a valley, the northern ſide of which is inhabited by the Ardyan Gauls; the ſouthern parts being all bounded by the Alps, which look towards the North. The Plains around the Po, which we have already deſcribed at large, are ſeparated alſo from this valley by the Alps; which beginning near Maſſilia, are from thence extended even to the inmoſt extremity of the Adriatic Gulph. And theſe were the mountains, which Annibal was to paſs; as he came forwards from the Rhone, to enter Italy.

There are ſome hiſtorians, who, in the deſcription which they have given us of theſe mountains, and of the march of Annibal acroſs them, while their deſign is to ſtrike the reader with a view of ſomething wonderful and ſtrange, are unwarily betrayed into two faults, the moſt contrary of any to the true character of Hiſtory. For they relate ſuch things as are manifeſtly falſe: and on many occaſions alſo, are forced even to refute their own accounts. They ſpeak of Annibal, as a General, whoſe prudence and whoſe courage were ſuch as never could be equalled: and yet at the ſame time they plainly prove him to have been of all men the moſt irrational and ſenſeleſs. As often too as they find it difficult to bring the fables which they have feigned to any probable concluſion, they introduce the Gods and Demi-gods into a

hiſtory, whoſe proper buſineſs is to treat of real facts. Thus they repreſent the Alps to be in every part ſo ſteep and broken, that not only the Cavalry, the heavy Infantry, and Elephants, but even the light-armed Foot, muſt in vain have attempted to ſurmount them. They deſcribe them likewiſe to have been entirely deſtitute of all inhabitants: ſo that unleſs ſome God or Hero had appeared, and pointed out the road to Annibal, he might ſtill have wandered, ignorant of his way, till the whole army had been loſt.

Now this account of things is both inconſiſtent with itſelf, and falſe. For muſt not Annibal have been eſteemed the moſt imprudent and moſt raſh of all commanders, if he had ſet out upon his march, at the head of ſo great an army, upon which he had alſo built the nobleſt expectations, without being firſt informed of the direction of his route, and the places through which he was to paſs; in a word, without knowing, into what kind of country he was going to enter, and what people he was likely to encounter in the way? and muſt it not be thought a ſtill more high degree of folly, to have engaged thus blindly in an attempt, which was ſo far from yielding any reaſonable proſpect of ſucceſs, that on the contrary, it was not even in it's nature practicable? Yet theſe writers, while they lead him through a country, of which he had received no previous knowledge, aſcribe to him ſuch a conduct, at a time when his army was entire, and his hopes all fair and flouriſhing, as no other General would ever have purſued, even in the moſt weak and deſperate ſtate. With regard alſo to that which they relate, concerning the deſert condition, and inſuperable roughneſs of the Alps; it muſt appear at once to be a moſt direct and notorious falſehood. For the Gauls, that lived along the Rhone, had often paſſed theſe mountains. And even not long before the time of Annibal, they had led a very numerous army over them, to join the Ciſalpine Gauls in their wars againſt the Romans: as we ſhewed

ſhewed particularly in the former Book. The Alps themſelves are inhabited alſo by a numerous people. But theſe hiſtorians, through the want of being acquainted with all theſe circumſtances, are obliged to feign the appearance of ſome Demigod, to direct the Carthaginians in their march: following in this the example of the Tragic Writers. For as theſe are forced to introduce a Deity in the cataſtrophe of their pieces, becauſe their fables are founded neither on truth nor ſenſe: ſo theſe hiſtorians likewiſe, when they have filled their firſt relations with circumſtances that are both improbable and falſe, muſt of neceſſity have recourſe to the Gods and Demigods, to clear the difficulties in which they have involved their ſtory. For if the beginning be contrary to truth and nature, the end alſo muſt be the ſame. But notwithſtanding all which theſe writers may pretend, it is certain that Annibal, in the conduct of this enterprize, had taken all his meaſures with the beſt judgement and precaution. For he had informed himſelf with great exactneſs of the nature of the country, through which he was to paſs: he was well aſſured of the goodneſs of it; and of the inveterate hatred, which the people bore againſt the Romans. And that he might be able alſo to ſurmount the difficulties of the way, he choſe for guides the natives of the country; men, engaged with him in the ſame deſigns, and actuated by the ſame common hopes. With regard to myſelf, I may be allowed to ſpeak of theſe things with ſome confidence. For I not only received my accounts from perſons that lived in the times of which I am writing; but have alſo paſſed the Alps, for the ſake of gaining a more full and accurate knowledge of the truth.

CHAP. V.

ON the third day after the Carthaginians had begun their march, the Roman Conſul Publius arrived at the place where they had paſſed the river. When he found that the enemy was gone, his ſurprize was very great; and not indeed without good reaſon. For he had perſuaded himſelf, that they would by no means venture to paſs that way into Italy, amidſt ſo many barbarous nations, noted for their fraud and perfidy. But as he ſaw however, that they had made the attempt, he returned in haſte to his ſhips, and ordered all the forces immediately to embark. And having ſent away his brother into Spain, he ſteered his courſe back again to Italy: deſigning to march with the greateſt diligence through Tyrrhenia; and ſo to reach the Alps, before the Carthaginians ſhould be able to have paſſed thoſe mountains. The latter, continuing their route forwards, arrived, after four days march from the paſſage of the Rhone, at a place that was very fertile in corn, and poſſeſſed by a numerous people. It was called the Iſland: becauſe the Rhone and Iſara, running on both ſides of it, fall together below, and ſharpen the land into a point. This place, both in it's ſize and figure, reſembles that part of Ægypt which is called the Delta: with this difference only, that one of the ſides of the latter is waſhed by the ſea, which receives the rivers that incloſe the other two, whereas the third ſide of the Iſland is defended by a chain of very rough and lofty mountains, which indeed are almoſt inacceſſible. It happened that at this time there were two Brothers in arms againſt each other, contending for the ſovereignty of the place. The eldeſt of them immediately had recourſe to the Carthaginians; and implored their aid, to ſecure him the poſſeſſion of his rights. Annibal embraced the occaſion with

no

no ſmall joy; being well aware of the advantages that would reſult from it to himſelf. Having joined his forces therefore with this Prince, he defeated and drove out the younger Brother, and was well rewarded by the conqueror, for the aſſiſtance which he had given him. For he not only ſupplied the troops with corn and other neceſſaries, in large abundance: but exchanged likewiſe all their arms that were impaired and worn by uſe, for others that were ſound and new. He furniſhed a great part of the ſoldiers alſo with new habits, and eſpecially with ſhoes; which were of ſingular ſervice to them, in their march afterwards acroſs the mountains. But the chief advantage was, that he attended with all his forces upon the rear of the Carthaginian army, through the whole country of the Allobroges, which they could not otherwiſe have paſſed without great fear and caution; and ſecured their march from inſult, till they arrived at the foot of the Alps.

When the army, after they had marched ten days along the Rhone, and had reached the diſtance of about eight hundred ſtadia from the place where they paſſed the river, were juſt now preparing to aſcend the Alps, they found themſelves in a ſituation that ſeemed likely to prove fatal to them. The Chiefs of the Allobroges had ſuffered them to paſs the plains, without any interruption or diſturbance: being reſtrained in part by their apprehenſions of the Carthaginian Cavalry, and partly alſo by the dread of thoſe barbarians that followed in the rear. But when the latter had returned back again to their country, and Annibal with the foremoſt of his troops was now beginning to enter the difficult paſſes of the mountains, they drew together their forces in great numbers, and poſſeſſed themſelves of all the poſts that commanded the defiles through which the Carthaginians were obliged to paſs. If this deſign had been conducted with due ſecrecy and caution, the whole army muſt have been deſtroyed without

reſource. But as they employed no pains to cover their intentions, the attempt, though it brought great loſs upon the Carthaginians, proved no leſs pernicious to themſelves.

For when Annibal perceived, that the enemy had thus ſeized on all the advantageous poſts, he incamped at the foot of the mountains, and ſent away ſome of the Gauls that ſerved as guides in his army, to diſcover their diſpoſition, conduct, and deſigns. When theſe returned, they acquainted him, that, during the time of day, the barbarians remained conſtant in their ſtations, and kept a careful guard upon them; but retired, as ſoon as night came on, to a neighbouring town. The General, having formed his meaſures upon this intelligence, continued his march in open view, as far as the entrance of the defiles; and incamped very near the enemy. And when night came on, he ordered fires to be lighted, and the greater part of the army to remain in the camp: while himſelf, having ſelected ſome of the braveſt of the troops, and diſincumbered them of every thing that might retard their march, advanced through the paſſes, and ſeized the poſts which the enemy had now deſerted. When day appeared, and the barbarians ſaw what had happened, they were forced to deſiſt from their firſt deſign. But having afterwards obſerved, that the Cavalry, and the beaſts that conveyed the baggage, being crouded and preſſed cloſe together by the narrowneſs of the way, advanced very ſlowly forwards, and not without the greateſt difficulty, they ſeized the occaſion that appeared ſo favourable, and fell upon them as they marched, in many parts at once. The deſtruction that enſued was very great; eſpecially of the horſes, and beaſts of burthen. But the loſs of theſe was rather owing to the badneſs of the ground on which they ſtood, than to any efforts of the enemy. For as the way was not only very rough and narrow, but was bounded alſo on every ſide by ſteep and craggy rocks, the beaſts, that were loaded with the baggage, were overturned by every ſhock,

and hurried headlong with their burthens down the precipices. This diſorder was occaſioned chiefly by the Horſes that were wounded. For theſe, being rendered ſenſeleſs and ungovernable, not only fell againſt the beaſts of burthen that were near them, but forcing their way alſo through the ranks as they were labouring to advance, filled every thing with tumult, and bore down all that was within their reach.

But Annibal, perceiving this diſorder, and reflecting with himſelf, that the loſs of the baggage alone muſt prove fatal to his army, though all the troops ſhould eſcape with ſafety, advanced now in haſte to their aſſiſtance, with the forces that had gained the hills in the night before: and ruſhing down with violence upon the enemy from thoſe eminencies, he killed great numbers of them; but not without an equal loſs. For the cries and conflict of theſe new combatants greatly increaſed the former tumult of the march. At laſt however, the greater part of the Allobroges were ſlain, and the reſt forced to fly. Annibal then conducted through the paſſes, though not without the greateſt pains and difficulty, what remained of the Cavalry and beaſts of burthen. And having afterwards aſſembled as many of the troops as he was able to draw together after the diſorder of the late action, he advanced againſt the town, from whence the enemy had made their attack upon him. As the place was in a manner quite deſerted by the people, who had all gone out in ſearch of booty, he became maſter of it upon his firſt approach; and from thence drew many great advantages, with reſpect both to the preſent and to future uſe. For beſides the horſes, beaſts of burthen, and priſoners which he gained; he found likewiſe in it ſo large a quantity both of corn and cattle, that it proved ſufficient to ſupport the army during two or three days march. By this conqueſt alſo, the people that lived along the ſides of the mountains were ſtruck with terror, and feared to engage in any new attempt againſt him.

Annibal,

Annibal, having reſted in this place during one whole day, again decamped, and continued his march to ſome diſtance forwards, without any accident. But on the fourth day, he fell a ſecond time into a danger, from which it was not eaſy to eſcape. The inhabitants of thoſe parts of the mountains, having formed the deſign of ſurpriſing him by treachery, advanced to meet him, with green branches in their hands, and crowns upon their heads: which is the ſignal of Peace among the barbarous nations, as the Caduceus is among the Greeks. Annibal, being unwilling to truſt too haſtily to theſe appearances, queſtioned them with great exactneſs, concerning their intentions, and the purpoſe of their coming. They anſwered, that having been informed that he had taken a neighbouring town, and deſtroyed all thoſe that had appeared in arms againſt him, they were come to aſſure him, that they had no intention to do him any injury, and to requeſt, that he would offer none to them. They promiſed alſo, that they would leave ſome hoſtages in his hands, as a pledge of their ſincerity. Annibal ſtill was doubtful and irreſolute, and apprehended ſome ill deſign. But when he had reflected with himſelf, that his compliance with the terms, which this people now propoſed, might ſerve perhaps to render them more mild and cautious; and on the other hand, that, in caſe he ſhould reject them, they would not fail to act againſt him as open enemies; he at laſt reſolved to embrace their offers, and, in appearance at leaſt, to conſider them as friends. The barbarians brought their hoſtages; ſupplied the army liberally with cattle; and gave themſelves up to the Carthaginians with ſo little reſerve or caution, that Annibal was in a great degree induced to throw away all ſuſpicion; and even intruſted them with the charge of leading the army through the reſt of the defiles. But when the Carthaginians, after two days march under the conduct of theſe guides, were now engaged in paſſing through a valley, that was ſurrounded on every ſide by ſteep and in-

ſuperable precipices, ſuddenly this treacherous people appeared behind them in great numbers, and fell with fury upon the rear. In this ſituation, the whole army muſt inevitably have been deſtroyed, if Annibal, who ſtill retained ſome little doubt of their ſincerity, had not placed, by a wiſe precaution, the baggage with the Cavalry at the head of all the march, and the heavy Infantry behind. Theſe troops ſuſtained the attack, and in part repelled the impending ruin. The loſs however was very great, both of men, and horſes, and beaſts of burthen. For the barbarians, advancing ſtill along the ſummit of the mountains, as the Carthaginians continued their march through the valley, both by ſlinging ſtones, and rolling down fragments of the rocks upon them, ſpread ſo great terror and diſorder through the army, that Annibal, with one half of the troops, was forced to take his ſtation for the night upon a naked and deſert rock, to ſecure the Cavalry and baggage, till they had all paſſed the valley. And this was at laſt accompliſhed. But ſuch was the roughneſs and the difficulty of theſe defiles, that the whole night was ſcarcely ſufficient for the work.

On the following day, the enemy being now retired, the Carthaginian General joined the Cavalry, and continued his march towards the ſummit of the Alps. From this time, the barbarians never came to attack him in any very numerous body. But ſome ſtraggling parties of them, appearing from time to time in different places, and falling, as occaſion ſerved, ſometimes upon the foremoſt troops, and ſometimes on the rear, gave frequent interruption to his march, and carried away a part of the baggage. The Elephants were chiefly ſerviceable upon theſe occaſions. For on which ſide ſoever they advanced, the enemy were ſtruck with terror at the ſight, and never ventured to approach. On the ninth day, having gained at laſt the ſummit of the mountains, he there fixed his camp, and reſted during two whole days: that he might

might give ſome eaſe and refreſhment to the troops, that had performed their march with ſafety; and that the others might alſo join him, who were not yet arrived. During this time, many of the wounded horſes, and of the beaſts that had thrown their burthens in the late diſorders of the march, having followed the traces of the army, arrived unexpectedly in the camp.

It was now near the time of Winter. The mountains were already covered deep with ſnow; and the whole army ſeemed to be under the greateſt dejection and diſmay: being not only exhauſted by the miſeries which they had ſuffered, but diſheartened alſo by the view of thoſe that were yet to come. Annibal therefore had recourſe to the only expedient that remained to raiſe their drooping courage. He aſſembled the troops together; and from the ſummit of the Alps, which, when conſidered with regard to Italy, appear to ſtand as the Citadel of all the country, pointed to their view the plains beneath that were watered by the Po; and reminded them of the favourable diſpoſition of the Gauls towards them. He ſhewed them alſo the very ground, upon which Rome itſelf was ſituated. By this proſpect, they were in ſome degree recovered from their fears. On the morrow therefore they decamped, and began to deſcend the mountains. There was now no enemy that oppoſed their paſſage; except ſome lurking parties only, which ſometimes fell upon them by ſurprize, for the ſake of plunder. But by reaſon of the ſnows, and the badneſs of the ground, their loſs was not much inferior to that which they had ſuffered in the aſcent. For the way was not only very ſteep and narrow, but ſo entirely covered alſo by the ſnow, that the feet knew not where to tread with ſafety. And as often as they turned aſide from the proper track, they were inſtantly hurried down ſome precipice. Yet the ſoldiers, to whom ſuch accidents were now become familiar, ſuſtained all this miſery with an amazing firmneſs. At laſt they came

to

to a place, which neither the Elephants, nor the beaſts of burthen, could in any manner paſs. For the ground, which was before extremely ſteep and broken, to the length of a ſtadium and a half, had again very lately fallen away, and left the road ſo narrow, that it was quite impracticable. At this ſight, the troops again were ſeized with conſternation; and even began to loſe all the hopes of ſafety. Annibal at firſt endeavoured to avoid this route, by changing the direction of his march, and making a circuit round it. But he ſoon was forced to deſiſt from that deſign. For the way on every ſide was utterly inſuperable; through an accident of a ſingular kind, which is peculiar to the Alps. The ſnows of the former year, having remained unmelted upon the mountains, were now covered over by thoſe that had fallen in the preſent winter. The latter being ſoft, and of no great depth, gave an eaſy admiſſion to the feet. But when theſe were trodden through, and the ſoldiers began to touch the ſnows that lay beneath, which were now become ſo firm that they would yield to no impreſſion, their feet both fell at once from under them, as if they had been walking upon the edge of ſome high and ſlippery precipice. And this miſchance drew after it a ſtill worſe accident. For when they ſtruggled with their hands and knees to recover themſelves from their fall, as the ground was every where extremely ſteep, they were then ſure to ſlide away with greater violence and rapidity than before; carrying likewiſe with them whatever they had graſped for their ſupport. The beaſts alſo that were loaded with the baggage, having by their endeavours to riſe again when they had fallen, broken the ſurface of the lower ſnow, remained cloſely wedged in the pits which they had made; and by the weight of the burthens under which they lay, as well as from the unyielding firmneſs of the ſnows around them, were fixed immoveably in the place.

When this attempt was thus found to be impracticable,

Annibal returned again to the narrow road which he had quitted; and having removed the ſnow, he incamped at the entrance of it, and ordered the ſoldiers to make a firm and level way along the precipice itſelf. And this, with the expence of vaſt pains and labour, was at laſt effected: ſo that in one day's time, there was ſufficient room for the horſes and the beaſts of burthen to deſcend. Theſe were immediately conducted down; and having gained the plains, were ſent away to paſture, in places where no ſnow had fallen. The Numidians were then commanded to enlarge the road, that the Elephants might alſo paſs. But ſo laborious was the taſk, that, though freſh men ſtill ſucceeded to thoſe that were fatigued, it was not without great difficulty that they completed it, in three days continued toil: after which, theſe beaſts came down the mountains; being almoſt exhauſted and ſpent with famine. For the tops of the Alps, which are covered through all ſeaſons with perpetual ſnows, produce neither tree nor paſture: though the middle parts on both ſides of them abound with woods and foreſts, and are proper to be cultivated. Annibal then deſcended laſt, with all the army; and thus on the third day gained the plains: having loſt great numbers of his ſoldiers in the march; as well in paſſing rivers, as in the engagements which he was forced to ſuſtain. Many of his men had alſo periſhed, among the precipices of the Alps: and a far greater number of the horſes, and beaſts of burthen. And having thus at laſt completed his journey from New Carthage, in five months time: fifteen days of which were employed in paſſing over the Alps; he now boldly entered the territory of the Inſubrians, and the plains that are watered by the Po: though the whole of his Infantry, that was left, amounted to no more than twelve thouſand Africans, and eight thouſand Spaniards; and his Cavalry, to ſix thouſand only: as we learn from an account, that was engraven by his orders, on a Column near Lacinium.

About

About the ſame time, the Roman Conſul Publius, having ſent away his brother, as we before related, with the greater part of the army, into Spain, exhorting him to proſecute the war with vigour againſt Aſdrubal in that country, landed at Piſæ, with a ſmall body of forces only. But having taken his route through Tyrrhenia, and increaſed his army with the legions that were then in action, under the conduct of the Prætors, upon the frontiers of the Boian Gauls, he came and incamped alſo near the Po; with deſign to preſs the enemy, and force them to an engagement without delay.

Thus then have we brought theſe Generals together; and fixed the ſcene of the war in Italy. But before we go on to recount the battles that enſued, it may be proper juſt to ſpeak of certain matters, which may be thought perhaps to deſerve a place in this part of our Hiſtory. For as we have often taken occaſion, in the courſe of this Work, to give a full deſcription of various places that occurred, both in Spain and Afric, many will be ready to inquire, from whence it happens, that we have made no mention of the Straits that are formed by the Pillars of Hercules, and of the Sea beyond; together with the properties and accidents that are peculiar to them: of the Britiſh iſlands; with the manner of making tin: and of the gold and ſilver mines that are found in Spain: eſpecially ſince other writers, who have treated of theſe ſubjects in a very copious manner, differ greatly from each other, in all that they report.

It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that theſe things are by no means foreign to the deſign of Hiſtory. But I conſidered with myſelf, that a ſeparate diſcuſſion of every one, as they occurred, would too much break the courſe of the narration, and divert the reader from thoſe tranſactions which are the proper Subject of this work: and in the next place, that it would be far more uſeful likewiſe, to take a view of all of them together, in ſome time and place reſerved expreſsly for

that purpoſe; in which we might be able to explain at large whatever has been known with truth concerning them. Let no one therefore think it ſtrange, if, whenever any other ſubjects of the ſame kind preſent themſelves in the progreſs of our Hiſtory, we ſhould forbear to enter into a particular examination of them. To expect that an hiſtorian ſhould croud his work in every part with theſe deſcriptions, is indeed a proof of a very vitious and uninformed judgment. Such readers may very properly be compared with thoſe men of liquoriſh palates, who taſte eagerly of every diſh that is ſet before them; and, amidſt ſo great a variety of meats, not only loſe the preſent reliſh of what they eat, but make their whole food pernicious to the body, which it was deſigned to ſtrengthen and ſuſtain. In the ſame manner alſo, theſe mixed hiſtories, as they afford no pure or genuine entertainment in the reading, ſo neither are they able to convey any ſound and laſting nouriſhment to the mind.

With regard to the reaſons, that induced me to reſerve the full conſideration of all theſe ſubjects for a profeſſed and ſeparate Inquiry, there are many that might now be mentioned. But the chief and moſt conſiderable of them is, that by much the greater part of thoſe hiſtorians, who have ever treated of the ſituation and the properties of the extreme parts of the habitable world, have fallen into numberleſs miſtakes, in almoſt all which they relate. It will be neceſſary therefore to refute and rectify their accounts, not by ſome ſlight and curſory remarks, but in a full and deliberate examination of them. We muſt be careful however to remember, that their labours deſerve upon the whole rather praiſe than cenſure; and that their errors are always to be corrected in the gentleſt manner: ſince it is certain, that they would themſelves retract and alter many paſſages in their works, if they were now alive. For in former times, there were but few among the Greeks, that made any attempt to extend their ſearch into thoſe places

which we call the boundary of the earth. The difficulties in their way were indeed almoſt inſuperable. Many dangers were to be encountered by ſea; and more, and greater upon land. And when any, either by choice or accident, had gained an entrance into thoſe countries, yet becauſe ſome parts were deſtitute of all inhabitants, and others poſſeſſed by a race of men, whoſe manners were uncultivated and wholly barbarous, it was ſcarcely poſſible, that they ſhould be able to examine with their own proper eyes even into a ſmall part only of the things that deſerved their notice. Nor could they, on the other hand, as they were ſtrangers to the language of the natives, ever gain the information that was requiſite, in thoſe which they had opportunity of ſeeing. And even thoſe few, that were able in ſome degree to ſurmount theſe difficulties, were all diſpoſed to enlarge their deſcriptions far beyond the bounds of probability: and having neither ſenſe nor candour to be ſatisfied with the plain and ſimple truth, invented ſtrange and incredible fictions of prodigies and monſters; reporting many things, which they had never ſeen; and many alſo, that had no exiſtence. Since therefore all theſe circumſtances concurred to render it not only difficult, but utterly impoſſible to gain any accurate and certain knowledge of thoſe countries, we ought by no means to paſs too ſevere a cenſure upon the old hiſtorians, for their miſtakes or omiſſions in theſe matters: but on the contrary, ſhould rather be perſuaded, that they deſerve our acknowledgements and thanks; on account even of the little information which they have left behind them; and that, amidſt thoſe numerous difficulties, they were able as it were to lay the foundation of more genuine diſcoveries. But in theſe times, ſince all Aſia has been opened to us by the arms of Alexander; and the other parts of the world by the Roman victories, ſo that every place and every country is now become acceſſible either by ſea or land; and ſince men of eminence in the world have ſhewn great eagerneſs

and

and zeal in making theſe reſearches; employing in them all that leiſure which they now enjoy from the buſineſs of war and the care of publick affairs; it may with reaſon be expected, that, by the help of theſe advantages, we ſhould at laſt be able to remove the obſcurity, in which theſe inquiries have hitherto been involved. And this is the taſk, which I ſhall undertake in it's proper place: and ſhall endeavour to give thoſe readers, whoſe taſte is gratified by ſuch deſcriptions, a clear and perfect inſight into all theſe ſubjects. For I have expoſed myſelf, without reſerve, both to great fatigue, and many dangers, in traverſing all Afric, Spain, and Gaul; and in voyaging alſo upon the exterior Sea, by which theſe parts of the world are bounded; that I might be able to correct with ſome aſſurance the miſtakes of former writers, and lay open the knowledge of theſe countries to the Greeks. But we ſhall now leave this digreſſion: and go on to the recital of the battles that were fought in Italy.

CHAP. VI.

THE Carthaginian General, having now entered Italy, with the forces which we have already particularly mentioned, at firſt incamped at the bottom of the Alps, that he might give ſome eaſe and refreſhment to his troops. Indeed the preſent condition of his army was miſerable almoſt beyond expreſſion. For beſides the hardſhips which they had ſuſtained from the difficulties of the way, both in aſcending and deſcending the mountains, the want of ſuch proviſions as were neceſſary, and the diſeaſes alſo which their bodies had contracted from neglect and naſtineſs, had changed them into ſpectacles of horror: while the greater part ſeemed voluntarily to ſink beneath their ſufferings, and even to reject all thoughts both of life and ſafety. For in a march ſo long and difficult, it was utterly impoſſible to bring with them ſuch ſupplies, as might

might fully ſatisfy the wants of ſo numerous an army: and even thoſe which they had brought were almoſt all loſt among the precipices, with the beaſts that carried them. This army therefore, which, when it paſſed the Rhone, conſiſted of thirty-eight thouſand Foot and eight thouſand Horſe, was now reduced to leſs than half that number. The reſt had periſhed among the mountains. And thoſe that were left alive, were ſo much worn and altered by continued ſufferings, that their appearance was ſcarcely human.

The firſt care therefore, to which Annibal now gave his whole attention, was to raiſe the drooping ſpirits of the troops, and by proper refreſhment to reſtore both the men and horſes to their former ſtate. When this was done, he invited the Taurinians, who lived near the foot of the Alps, and were at this time engaged in war with the Inſubrians, to enter into an alliance with him, and to aſſiſt him with their forces. And when his offers were rejected by them, he marched and incamped before the ſtrongeſt of their cities; and having taken it after three days ſiege, killed all that were found in arms againſt him in the place. By this ſeverity, the neighbouring barbarians were all ſtruck with terror, and ſubmitted at diſcretion. The reſt of the Gauls, that inhabited theſe plains, were impatient to take arms in favour of the Carthaginians, as they had at firſt deſigned. But becauſe the legions, that were ſent from Rome, had paſſed through many of their States, and had avoided all the ambuſcades that were prepared to intercept them, they were forced to remain quiet for the preſent; and ſome were even compelled to join the Romans. Annibal therefore, wiſely judging that no time was to be loſt, reſolved to continue his march forwards without delay; and, by ſome action of importance, to fix the confidence of thoſe that were diſpoſed to embrace his party, and encourage them to act without reſtraint, for the advancement of their common hopes.

But while he was preparing all things for the execution of this deſign, the report arrived, that Publius with his army had already paſſed the Po, and was now at no great diſtance from him. At firſt, Annibal could ſcarcely give credit to the news. Not many days were paſt, ſince he had left the Romans upon the banks of the Rhone. And as the paſſage by ſea from Maſſilia to the Tyrrhenian coaſt was both long and difficult, ſo the diſtance alſo from thence through Italy, to the bottom of the Alps, was very great, and the way by no means eaſy or commodious for an army. But as the fact received fuller confirmation, he was beyond meaſure ſurprized, both at the boldneſs of the attempt, and at the ſucceſs likewiſe, with which the Conſul had carried it into execution. Publius, on his part alſo, was not leſs aſtoniſhed. For he had perſuaded himſelf, either that Annibal would never venture to take his route acroſs the Alps, with an army that was all compoſed of foreign troops; or if he did, that he muſt inevitably be loſt in the attempt. But when he heard, that he had not only paſſed the mountains, but was already laying ſiege to ſome of the towns of Italy, he was ſtruck with admiration at the daring and undaunted ſpirit of this General. At Rome alſo, the ſurprize was not at all more moderate. For while the report, that Saguntum was taken by the Carthaginians, ſtill ſounded in their ears, and all their meaſures were ſuited to that event; when they had ſent away the Conſuls but juſt before, the one to make a diverſion of the war in Afric, and the other to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy in Spain; on a ſudden they are informed, that Annibal is already arrived in Italy with his army. This wonderful celerity, as it almoſt exceeded all belief, ſo it filled them alſo with the greateſt apprehenſions. They immediately ſend notice to Tiberius, who ſtill lay at Lilybæum, that the enemy had entered Italy. They direct him to deſiſt from his firſt deſign, and return again to defend his country. The Conſul, having received theſe orders, ſent back

back the fleet to Rome; and commanded the Tribunes to draw together all the legionary forces with the greateſt diligence; and that, on a day which he preſcribed, they ſhould meet him at Ariminum: a town ſituated near the Adriatic coaſt, in the ſouthern extremity of thoſe plains that are watered by the Po. In a word, ſo contrary were the preſent accidents to all that had been expected or foreſeen, that the conſternation ſoon became general among the people, and held their minds in anxious ſuſpenſe for the event.

But Annibal and Publius, as they now approached each other, endeavoured ſeverally to animate their troops; by all the motives which the preſent conjuncture ſuggeſted to them. Upon this occaſion, Annibal contrived the following expedient. Having aſſembled together all the forces, he brought before them the young priſoners, whom he had taken among thoſe barbarians that had diſturbed his march acroſs the Alps. With a view to the deſign which he now put in practice, he had before given orders, that theſe wretches ſhould be treated with the laſt ſeverity. They were loaded with heavy chains: their bodies were emaciated with hunger; and mangled by blows and ſtripes. In this condition, he now placed them in the midſt of the aſſembly; and threw before them ſome ſuits of Gallic armour, ſuch as their Kings are accuſtomed to wear, when they engaged in ſingle combat. He ordered ſome horſes alſo to be ſet before them; and military habits, that were very rich and ſplendid. He then demanded of the young men, which of them were willing to try their fate in arms againſt each other; on condition that the conqueror ſhould poſſeſs thoſe ſpoils that were before their eyes, while the vanquiſhed would be releaſed by death from all his miſeries. The captives with one voice cried out, and teſtified the utmoſt eagerneſs to engage. Annibal then commanded, that lots ſhould be caſt among them: and that thoſe two, upon whom the lot ſhould fall, ſhould take the arms that

were before them, and begin the combat. When the priſoners heard theſe orders, they extended their hands towards the heavens; and every one moſt fervently implored the Gods, that the lot to fight might be his own. And no ſooner was their chance decided, than thoſe whoſe fortune it was to engage, appeared filled with joy, while the reſt were mournful and dejected. When the combat alſo was determined, the captives, that were by lot excluded from the trial, pronounced him who had loſt his life in the engagement to be in their ſight not leſs happy than the conqueror: ſince by dying he was releaſed from all that wretchedneſs, which they were ſtill condemned to ſuffer. The ſame reflections aroſe alſo in the minds of the Carthaginian ſoldiers: who, from comparing the condition of the dead with the ill fate of thoſe that were led back again to chains and torture, declared the former to be happy, and gave their pity to the ſufferings of the latter.

When Annibal perceived, that this contrivance had produced in the minds of all the army the effect that was intended from it, he came forwards in the aſſembly, and told the ſoldiers: "That he had offered that ſpectacle to their view, that, when they had diſcerned their own condition in the fate of thoſe unhappy captives, they might more clearly judge what reſolutions were moſt proper to be taken, and in what manner they might beſt form their conduct, in the preſent circumſtances. That in the combat which they had ſeen, and the prize propoſed to the conqueror, was diſplayed a perfect image of that ſtate, into which they were themſelves now brought by fortune. That ſuch was their ſituation, that they muſt either conquer, or be ſlain in battle, or elſe fall alive into the power of their enemies. That by conqueſt, they would obtain a prize, not of horſes and military habits, but the whole wealth and riches of the Roman empire; and would thus become the happieſt of mankind. That if they were to fall

in battle, they could then only die; without being firſt expoſed to any kind of miſery; and contending, to their lateſt breath, for the moſt glorious of all victories. But on the other hand, in caſe that they were conquered, and the love of life ſhould flatter them with any hopes of being able to eſcape by flight, or ſhould they even conſent upon any terms to live after their defeat; it was manifeſt beyond all doubt, that nothing but the extremity of wretchedneſs could await them. For ſurely there were none among them, who, when they had conſidered how vaſt a length of country they had traverſed, what enemies had oppoſed them in their way, and what large and rapid rivers they were forced to paſs, could be ſo wholly deſtitute of all ſenſe and judgement as ever to be perſuaded, that it was poſſible to regain their ſeveral countries. He conjured them therefore to throw away all ſuch hopes; and in judging of their own ſtate and fortune, to retain thoſe ſentiments, which they had juſt now ſhewn with regard to the condition of the Captives. That, as in that caſe they declared both the man that conquered, and him who fell in the combat, to be happy, and pitied thoſe who were reſerved alive; ſo their buſineſs now was, to conquer if it were poſſible; and if not, to die; and on no account to entertain even the ſmalleſt expectation or thought of life, in caſe that they were conquered. That if they would heartily embrace theſe ſentiments, and carry this reſolution with them into action, there was indeed no room to doubt, but that they would both live and conquer. That no troops were ever known to be defeated, who had once been fixed in this determination, either by neceſſity or choice. But that on the other hand, an army, which, like the Romans, ſaw their country open to them on every ſide, and ready to receive all thoſe that could eſcape by flight, muſt neceſſarily fall beneath the efforts of men, whoſe only hopes were placed in victory." This harangue, together with the ſpectacle that had paſſed before

their eyes, fully inflamed the courage of the ſoldiers, and raiſed them into ſuch a temper as Annibal had deſigned. He therefore applauded their diſpoſition, and diſmiſſed the aſſembly; with orders, that they ſhould make all things ready for their march by break of day.

Upon the ſame day likewiſe, the Conſul Publius, who had already advanced beyond the Po, and deſigned to continue his march forwards, and to paſs the Ticinus, ſent away a ſufficient number of his troops, to lay a bridge acroſs that river: and having in the mean time called together the reſt of the army, he harangued them in the following manner.

In the firſt part of his diſcourſe, he diſplayed in many words the dignity and ſplendour of the Roman empire; and recalled to their minds the glorious actions of their anceſtors. Speaking afterwards on the ſubject of the preſent war, he told the ſoldiers, that, even though they had never yet made any trial of the ſtrength of thoſe that were in arms againſt them, they might however be aſſured of victory, if they would remember only, that their enemies were the Carthaginians: thoſe very Carthaginians who had been ſo often vanquiſhed by the Roman legions, and had ſubmitted to the impoſition of repeated tributes: and who now, by an attempt not leſs abſurd than inſolent, had dared to appear in arms againſt a people, to whom they had paid ſuch ſubjection as was not far removed from ſlavery. "But ſince in fact, continued he, we ſo lately have experienced, that theſe enemies want the courage even to ſtand before us in the field, what muſt be our ſentiments, if we judge with reaſon, concerning the iſſue of the war? For when their Cavalry was engaged with ours upon the Rhone, they not only loſt great numbers of their men, but the reſt, that were left alive, fled before us in a manner the moſt diſhonourable, even to their very camp. Their General alſo, and all his army, no ſooner were informed of our approach, than they retired with ſuch precipitation, that

that their retreat was rather to be called a flight. It was this fear alone, and not their choice or inclination, that hurried them acroſs the Alps. Behold then, added he; Annibal is indeed arrived in Italy, but his army is loſt among the mountains. And even the few that have eſcaped are ſo much waſted with fatigue, ſo worn and exhauſted by the length and difficulties of their march, that both men and horſes are alike diſabled, and become unfit for all the ſervices of war. To conquer ſuch an enemy, it muſt ſurely be ſufficient, to ſhew yourſelves but once before them. But if any thing ſhould ſtill be wanting to fix your confidence, let my preſence here among you be conſidered as a certain pledge of your ſucceſs. For it never can be thought, that I ſhould thus have left the fleet, with the affairs of Spain that were intruſted to my care, and have run with ſo much diligence to join the army in this country, unleſs I had been firſt aſſured by the moſt ſolid reaſons, not only that this meaſure was both wiſe and neceſſary in the preſent circumſtances, but that I was haſtening alſo to reap the fruits of an eaſy and undoubted victory."

The authority of the ſpeaker, as well as the truth that was contained in this diſcourſe, raiſed in all the troops an impatience to be led againſt the enemy. Publius commended their alacrity: and exhorting them to hold themſelves in readineſs for action upon the earlieſt warning, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

On the following day, both armies continued to advance along the Ticinus, on that ſide of it which is neareſt to the Alps; the Romans, having the river on their left; and the Carthaginians, upon their right. But on the ſecond day, having received notice from their foragers, that they were now at no great diſtance from each other, they incamped ſeverally in the place where they then were. On the third day, Annibal, having drawn out all his Cavalry, marched through the plain, to view the ſituation of the enemy. Publius alſo, with

with his Cavalry and light-armed troops, was advancing on the ſame deſign. As ſoon as they approached ſo near as to diſcern the duſt that was raiſed on either ſide, they immediately ranged their forces in order of battle. The Conſul, having placed his light-armed troops in front, together with the Gallic Horſe, drew up the reſt in a line behind, and moved ſlowly towards the enemy. Annibal advanced to meet him, having thrown into his Centre all the bridled and heavy Cavalry, and placed the Numidians on the Wings, that they might be ready to ſurround the Romans. As the Cavalry on both ſides, as well as the Generals themſelves, ſhewed the greateſt impatience to engage, the light-armed troops, being apprehenſive that, as theſe bodies met, they ſhould be born down inſtantly in the ſhock, had ſcarcely thrown their firſt javelins, when they retired with great precipitation, through the intervals of their own ſquadrons that were behind them. The two bodies then advanced to action. The battle was fierce on both ſides, and the ſucceſs for ſome time doubtful. For many of the combatants left their horſes, and maintained the fight on foot with the greateſt obſtinacy. But after ſome time, the Numidian Cavalry, having taken a circuit round, and falling ſuddenly upon the light-armed forces that had ſaved themſelves in the rear, trampled them down in heaps, and from thence advanced to charge the hindmoſt of the ſquadrons that were engaged. The Romans, who had hitherto ſuſtained the fight with ſuch ſucceſs, that though they loſt many of their men, they had yet deſtroyed a far greater number of the enemy, being thus attacked by the Numidians in their rear, were thrown at once into diſorder, ſo that a general rout enſued. The greater part fled different ways. But a ſmall number of them, having formed themſelves into a body round the perſon of the Conſul, retreated with him.

Publius immediately decamped, and marched in haſte through the plains, in order to repaſs the Po. For as the country

country round him was all flat and open, and the Carthaginians ſuperior in their Cavalry; and becauſe himſelf alſo had received a dangerous wound in the late engagement; he thought it neceſſary to remove the troops without delay into a place of ſafety on the other ſide of the river. Annibal for ſome time ſtood in expectation, that the Romans would draw out their Infantry, and engage in a general battle. But when he found that they had left their camp, he immediately purſued, as far as to the bridge upon the Po. The bridge had been broken by the Romans, and the greater part of the planks removed. But a body of ſix hundred men, that had been left to ſecure that poſt, and who ſtill remained upon the banks of the river, fell into the hands of the Carthaginians. Annibal, being informed by theſe, that the Romans had already gained a great diſtance from him, immediately gave a ſtop to the purſuit; and directing his march up the ſtream, advanced along the river, in ſearch of a part that might commodiouſly admit a bridge to be thrown acroſs it. After two days march, having found a place that was proper for this deſign, he made a bridge of boats, and ordered Aſdrubal to conduct the army over the river: while himſelf, who firſt had paſſed it, gave audience to the ambaſſadors, that now came to meet him from all the neighbouring country. For the Gauls on every ſide no ſooner had received the news of the late victory, than they immediately threw away all reſtraint: and purſuing their firſt deſign, entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, and ſupplied their army both with men and ſtores. Annibal received all that came to join him with great marks of favour: and when the army had all paſſed the river, he advanced in haſte along the banks, but by a way that was contrary to his former courſe; for he now directed his march down the ſtream, with deſign to overtake and engage the enemy without delay.

For Publius, after he had repaſſed the Po, went and in-

camped

camped near Placentia, a colony of the Romans. And being perſuaded, that he had now placed the troops in ſafety from all inſult, he lay quiet in his poſt; and attended carefully to the cure both of himſelf, and of thoſe that were wounded with him in the late engagement. After two days march from the place where they had paſſed the Po, the Carthaginians arrived near the enemy: and on the third day, they advanced in order, and offered battle to the Romans. But as the Conſul ſtill remained cloſe in his intrenchments, they again retired, and incamped at the diſtance of about fifty ſtadia from him.

At this time, the Gauls that had joined the Roman army, being perſuaded that the Carthaginians had now the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs, reſolved to attack the Romans by ſurprize: and having ſecretly concerted their deſign, they waited in their tents for the time to carry it into execution. Supper was now ended in the camp, and the army all retired to their repoſe; when theſe men, having ſuffered the firſt part of the night to paſs without any diſturbance or commotion, at break of day took arms, being in number about two thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe; and falling ſuddenly upon the legions that were neareſt, killed and wounded great numbers of them: and having cut off the heads of thoſe that were ſlain, they carried them to the Carthaginian camp. On their arrival there, they were received by Annibal with great acknowledgements. He applauded their zeal and courage; and having promiſed them alſo ſuch rewards as were due to this important ſervice, he diſmiſſed them to their ſeveral cities, to inform their countrymen of all that had been tranſacted, and to invite them to join their forces with the Carthaginians. He knew indeed that, after this flagrant act of perfidy againſt the Romans, they muſt of neceſſity be forced to embrace his party. They came accordingly in a ſhort time afterwards; and brought alſo with them the Boian Gauls; who delivered to

him the three Romans that had been ſent to inſpect the diviſion of the lands, whom they had treacherouſly ſeized in the beginning of the war, as we have before related. Annibal received them all in the moſt favourable manner; concluded an alliance with them; and made them his aſſociates in the war. But he returned the priſoners again into their hands; adviſing them to keep them carefully, as the means whereby they might recover their own hoſtages from the Romans, as they had at firſt deſigned.

The Conſul Publius was thrown by this tranſaction into no ſmall anxiety and concern. And not doubting but that all the neighbouring Gauls, who before were very ill diſpoſed towards the Romans, would immediately join the enemy, he thought it moſt prudent to retire, and avoid the danger that muſt ariſe from ſo general a revolt. With this deſign, about three hours after midnight he decamped, and marched towards the river Trebia, and the mountains that were near it: being perſuaded, that the troops might there lie ſecure againſt all attacks; as the poſts were very ſtrong and advantageous, and the country alſo on every ſide poſſeſſed by their allies. As ſoon as Annibal was informed of this retreat, he immediately ſent after them the Numidian Horſe, and afterwards the other Cavalry; and himſelf in a ſhort time followed with the reſt of the army. The Numidians, having entered the intrenchments, and finding them quite deſerted, ſtaid to ſet fire to the camp. This delay was highly advantageous to the Romans. For if theſe troops had followed the purſuit with diligence, as the march of the enemy lay through a flat and open country, great numbers of them muſt have been deſtroyed. But now, they had almoſt all ſafely paſſed the Trebia, before the Cavalry were come up. A ſmall part only of the rear, that ſtill remained upon the banks, were either killed, or taken priſoners by the Carthaginians.

The Conſul, when he had paſſed the river, poſted his

troops upon the neareſt hills. And having thrown up an intrenchment round his camp, he reſolved to wait for the arrival of Tiberius with the other army; and in the mean time, carefully to attend to the cure of his wound, that he might be able to bear a part in the engagement, whenever it ſhould happen. Annibal alſo fixed his camp at the diſtance of about forty ſtadia from the Romans: while the Gauls who inhabited the neighbouring plains, being now bound firmly to his intereſts, and animated by the paſt ſucceſs, ſupplied his troops with all the neceſſary ſtores in the greateſt plenty, and ſhewed the utmoſt eagerneſs to ſhare in all the labours, and in all the dangers of the war.

CHAP. VII.

WHEN the people were informed at Rome of the action that had happened between the Cavalry, they were at firſt ſurprized at an event, that was ſo contrary to all their expectations. They found however many reaſons, which ſerved to flatter them in the opinion, that this accident was by no means to be conſidered as an actual defeat. For ſome aſcribed the blame to the raſh precipitation of the Conſul. Others imputed the whole miſchance to the wilful cowardice and ill conduct of the Gauls: being led to this perſuaſion, by the treachery which that people had juſt now committed in the camp. And even though the worſt ſhould be admitted, yet ſince their Infantry remained entire, it ſeemed reaſonable that their hopes alſo ſhould be ſtill the ſame, with regard to the iſſue of the whole. When Tiberius therefore, with his legions, paſſed through Rome, they made no doubt, but that the ſight alone of ſo brave an army muſt at once ſtrike the enemy with terror, and give a ſpeedy determination to the war.

When the troops were all met together at Ariminum on the appointed day, agreeably to the oath which they had taken,

taken, the Conſul immediately purſued his march in haſte, with deſign to join his Collegue. Having fixed his camp near him, he gave orders for the refreſhment of the army, which had ſuffered no ſmall fatigue in their route of forty days continuance from Lilybæum to Ariminum, and made all the neceſſary preparations for a battle; and in the mean time, held frequent conferences with Publius; as well to inform himſelf of all that had already been tranſacted, as to deliberate alſo with him concerning the meaſures that were now to be purſued.

About this time Annibal became maſter of Claſtidium, which was ſurrendered to him by the treachery of the Governor, a native of Brunduſium, who had been placed there by the Romans: and having gotten into his hands the garriſon and all the ſtores, he diſtributed the latter among his troops for their preſent uſe, and joined the priſoners to his army without offering them any injury. By this inſtance of his clemency, he hoped that all the neighbouring people might be induced to lay aſide their fears: ſince they would now perceive, that they had no cauſe to deſpair of ſafety, in caſe that they ſhould hereafter fall into the hands of the Carthaginians. He rewarded the traitor alſo with ample preſents; that the governors of other cities might be led to embrace his party. Not long afterwards, having received information, that ſome of the Gauls that lived between the river Trebia and the Po, who had before concluded an alliance with him, had now entered alſo into terms of treaty with the Romans, he ſent away two thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Numidian and Gallic Horſe, to plunder and lay waſte their country. Theſe orders ſoon were executed: and the detachment was now returning with their booty, when the Gauls came running to the Roman camp, and implored aſſiſtance. Tiberius, who for ſome time had been impatient to be in action, ſeized the occaſion, and immediately ſent away the greateſt part of his

Cavalry, together with a thouſand light-armed Foot. Theſe troops, having paſſed the river, charged the Numidians and the Gauls that were loaded with the plunder, and forced them to retreat in haſte to their intrenchments. But when the guards, that were poſted before the Carthaginian camp, advanced to the aſſiſtance of thoſe that fled, the Romans were in their turn routed, and conſtrained to return back towards their camp. Tiberius then commanded all the Cavalry to advance, together with the light-armed troops; and the enemy was again forced to fly. Annibal, who was at this time wholly unprepared for a general engagement, and who knew it to be the part of a wiſe and prudent General, not to hazard a deciſive action without mature deliberation and deſign, forced the troops to ſtand, as they fled towards the camp, and to turn their faces to the enemy; but at the ſame time ordered the trumpets to ſound the ſignal of retreat, and forbad the ſoldiers either to purſue, or renew the combat. The Romans, when they had for ſome time waited in the field, returned back again to their camp; having loſt but a very inconſiderable part of their forces in the action, though they had deſtroyed great numbers of the enemy.

Tiberius, being beyond meaſure elated by this ſucceſs, was impatient to try the fortune of a general engagement. But though he had already reſolved to embrace the advantage, which the ſlow recovery of Publius gave him, and to govern all things by his own ſingle authority and will; yet being deſirous alſo to gain, if it were poſſible, the approbation of his Collegue, he communicated his intention to him. But Publius was fixed in different ſentiments. For he had conſidered with himſelf, that when the troops had firſt been trained and exerciſed during the time of winter, they would be able to perform much greater ſervice in the following ſeaſon, than any that could now be expected from them. He was perſuaded likewiſe, that the natural levity and perfidious diſpoſi-

tion of the Gauls would ſoon lead them to revolt from their new allies, in caſe that the Carthaginians ſhould be forced to remain long inactive. And in the laſt place, he was willing alſo to believe, that when his own recovery ſhould be completed, he might himſelf be able to perform ſome ſervice in the conduct of a general action. He preſſed his Collegue therefore with the greateſt earneſtneſs, that things might ſtill continue in their preſent ſtate. Tiberius clearly underſtood the wiſdom of theſe ſentiments. But being hurried headlong by ambition, confident of victory, and heated alſo with the vain and flattering expectation of being able to finiſh the war alone, before Publius ſhould be in a condition to aſſiſt him, or the new Conſuls, the time of whoſe election now drew near, arrive from Rome, to take upon them the command, he reſolved, in oppoſition to all ſenſe and prudence, to riſk a general battle. And as he thus made choice of his own time for action, inſtead of that which the condition of affairs required, his conduct in all that followed was by conſequence abſurd, and ſuch as could not fail to diſappoint him in the end that was propoſed.

Annibal on the other hand, having formed the ſame reflections in his mind, as Publius had made, with regard to all the preſent circumſtances, was led to juſt the oppoſite determination, and reſolved to engage the enemy without delay. He ſaw the advantages that would ariſe, from employing the Gauls in action, before their firſt ardour was abated. He judged it alſo to be a point of no ſmall importance in his favour, that the Roman troops were all new-raiſed levies, not yet inured to war; and that Publius was diſabled by his wound from appearing in the field. But his chief and ſtrongeſt reaſon was, that he might not ſuffer any moment of his time to be waſted in inaction. For when a General has once brought his army into a foreign country, and engaged them in deſigns that are beyond meaſure great and difficult, he muſt very ſhortly meet his

his ruin, unleſs he is able from time to time to renew the confidence and hopes of his allies, by a continual ſucceſſion of exploits. Not doubting therefore, but that the eager and impatient ſpirit of Tiberius would ſoon afford the opportunity that was deſired, he now began to make the neceſſary preparations for a battle.

He had before this time carefully obſerved the ground that lay between the camps. It was a ſmooth and naked plain: but the banks of the river that ran through it, which were of conſiderable height, and covered alſo with cloſe ſhrubs and buſhes, ſuggeſted to him the deſign of placing an ambuſcade to ſurprize the enemy. This ſtratagem was ſuch indeed, as might well be carried into execution, without any fear of a diſcovery. For though the Romans always were prepared to expect this kind of fraud in woods and covered places, becauſe the Gauls were accuſtomed to hide themſelves in theſe, they had never any apprehenſion of it in a flat and open country. And yet in fact it is both more ſafe and eaſy, to place an ambuſcade in a plain, than in a wood. For as the troops are able to diſcern from their concealment every thing around them to a greater diſtance; ſo there are always to be found ſome little eminencies, that will cover them effectually from the obſervation of the enemy. Any inconſiderable river, whoſe banks riſe only to a moderate height, and ſometimes even flags and ruſhes, or any kind of buſhes, will ſerve to hide not only a body of foot, but even Cavalry. The only caution to be obſerved is, to place their arms, whoſe brightneſs might betray them, upon the ground, and their helmets under them.

Annibal then, when he had firſt communicated his intentions to his brother Mago and the reſt of the officers in Council, who all applauded the deſign, ordered Mago to attend him at the hour of ſupper, and gave to him the command of a hundred Foot, and as many Horſe; directing him to chooſe

chooſe them, while it was yet day, from the braveſt of the troops, and to bring them after ſupper, to his tent. Mago was at this time young; but full of martial ardour; and had been trained in war from his very infancy. When he appeared with his men before the General's tent, Annibal, having firſt exhorted them to be ſtrenuous in their duty, commanded each man to ſelect, from his own proper Company, nine of the braveſt ſoldiers; and that afterwards they ſhould attend his orders, in a certain part of the camp. Thus the whole number now amounted to one thouſand Foot, and as many Horſe. As ſoon as they were all aſſembled, Annibal, having furniſhed them with proper guides, and inſtructed Mago in the time, in which he ſhould appear and charge the enemy, ſent them away by night to the place of the ambuſcade.

On the morrow, at break of day, he aſſembled the Numidian Cavalry; who, of all the army, were beſt able to ſuſtain fatigue and hardſhip. And having promiſed great rewards to all that ſhould perform any ſignal ſervice in the battle, he ordered them to paſs the river without delay; to approach the camp of the Romans; and endeavour, by ſkirmiſhing, to draw their army into motion. His intention was, to ſurprize the enemy, when they were wholly unprepared for an engagement; and before they had taken their firſt repaſt. He then called together all the Officers; harangued them as the occaſion required; and directed them to give orders, that the troops ſhould take their uſual meal, and prepare their arms and horſes for the combat.

When Tiberius ſaw, that the Numidians were advancing towards the camp, he immediately ſent againſt them all his Cavalry; and after theſe, his light-armed Foot, in number about ſix thouſand men; and at laſt, drew out the legions likewiſe from both the camps. Confident in the number of his troops, and elated alſo by the advantage which his Cavalry had gained the day before, he ſeemed to be perſuaded, that,

in order to obtain the victory, it would be ſufficient only to appear before the enemy. It was now deep winter: the ſnow fell faſt: the cold was uncommonly ſevere: and the Romans, both men and horſes, had almoſt all left the camp, before they had taken any repaſt. The ſoldiers however began their march with the greateſt ardour and alacrity. But when they came to paſs the Trebia, whoſe ſtream was now ſo ſwelled, by the torrents that had deſcended in the night from the neighbouring hills, that the waters reached even to their breaſts, it was not without the greateſt pains and difficulty that they gained the other ſide. As the day alſo was now far advanced, they began to faint through cold and hunger. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, had taken their uſual meal at leiſure in their tents; had prepared their horſes for the combat; had all rubbed their limbs with oil, and put on their armour, before a fire.

Annibal, who ſtood waiting till the Romans ſhould have paſſed the river, no ſooner ſaw that they had gained the other ſide, than he immediately ſent away the Baleario ſlingers and the light-armed Foot, in number about eight thouſand, to ſupport the Numidian Cavalry; and himſelf then followed with all the army. At the diſtance of eight ſtadia from the camp, he ranged in one ſingle line his Infantry; which was compoſed of Spaniards, Africans, and Gauls, and amounted in the whole to about twenty thouſand men. His Cavalry, whoſe numbers with the Gauls included were above ten thouſand, was placed, in two bodies, on the Wings. And the Elephants, divided alſo into equal numbers, were poſted, at ſome diſtance, before either Wing.

Tiberius, perceiving that his Cavalry could gain no advantage againſt the Numidian Horſe, who, as their cuſtom was, fled in one moment from the charge, and in the next, returned again with the ſame force and vigour as before, gave the ſignal for their retreat. His Infantry was compoſed of

ſixteen

ſixteen thouſand Romans, and twenty thouſand of their allies; which is the juſt amount of that which they eſteem a perfect army, in the caſe of a general engagement, when both Conſuls are together in the field. He ranged them after the uſual manner of the Romans; and having placed his Cavalry, which were about four thouſand, on the Wings, he advanced with a ſlow and haughty pace towards the enemy.

The armies now approached each other, and the light-armed forces began the combat. But even in this firſt onſet, the Romans manifeſtly laboured under many diſadvantages; while every circumſtance was favourable to the enemy. For the troops of the former that were now engaged, not only were exhauſted by the cold and hunger which they had ſuffered ever ſince the morning, but had diſcharged the greateſt part of their weapons alſo in their combat againſt the Numidian Horſe. And even thoſe javelins, that were left, were now, from the continual rain that had fallen upon them, become unfit for any ſervice. The Cavalry alſo, and indeed all the army, were alike feeble and diſheartened; while the Carthaginians, on the contrary, freſh and vigorous, and prepared for action, flew briſkly to the charge, and maintained the fight in every part with courage and ſucceſs.

As ſoon therefore as the light-armed troops had retired on either ſide through the intervals of their reſpective armies, and the heavy forces advanced to action, the Carthaginian Cavalry, which was far ſuperior to the Roman both in numbers and in ſtrength, advancing together from the Wings, preſſed the enemy with ſo much violence, that they forced them inſtantly to retreat before them. When the Infantry was thus uncovered, the Numidians and the light-armed forces of the Carthaginians, returning back again from the rear, and paſſing beyond the front of their own army, fell ſuddenly upon both flanks of the Romans, and ſpread among them ſo great tumult and diſorder, that they were no longer able to defend themſelves

ſelves againſt thoſe that were attacking them in front. In the Centre of the armies, the foremoſt ranks, on either ſide, remained for a long time firm; and maintained the fight with equal courage and ſucceſs. But when Mago and his troops, now riſing from their ambuſcade, fell furiouſly upon the rear of thoſe legions that were fighting in the Centre, then were the Romans every way diſtreſſed, and the diſorder ſuch as could receive no remedy. Their two Wings, preſſed by the Elephants in front, and charged in flank by the light-armed Foot, were in a ſhort time turned to flight, purſued, and puſhed together in crouds into the river. In their Centre alſo, the hindmoſt of the legions, unable to ſuſtain the fury of thoſe troops, that roſe againſt them from the ambuſcade, were in like manner broken and deſtroyed. The foremoſt ranks alone, urged by neceſſity to conquer, forced their way beyond the Gauls, and a part alſo of the Africans that oppoſed them; and, with great ſlaughter, opened for themſelves a paſſage, through the midſt of the Carthaginian army. But when they ſaw, that both their Wings were irrecoverably routed; and that the numbers of the Carthaginian Cavalry, the river, and the rains which now fell ſtrong and heavily, all combined together, to render their own return back again to their camp impracticable; they formed themſelves into cloſe order, and continued their march with ſafety to Placentia. The number of them was about ten thouſand. The reſt were trampled down in heaps, upon the banks of the Trebia, under the feet of the Horſes and the Elephants. A ſmall part only that were able to eſcape, among whom were many of the routed Cavalry, joined thoſe legions which we have juſt now mentioned, and retreated with them to Placentia. The Carthaginians, when they had purſued the enemy as far as to the river, were then forced to yield to the rigour of the ſeaſon, and return back again to their camp. Their victory afforded no ſmall joy. For though many of the Gauls were ſlain in the action,

action, the loſs of the Africans and Spaniards was very inconſiderable. But the rains and ſnows, which had fallen continually during that whole day, were ſo ſevere and fatal, that, of all the Elephants, one only was preſerved alive: and great numbers alſo, both of men and horſes, periſhed through the extremity of the cold.

Tiberius, after this misfortune, being willing, as far as he was able, to conceal the knowledge of it from the people in Rome, ſent word only that he had fought a battle, and that the badneſs of the ſeaſon had robbed him of the victory. The Romans at firſt gave credit to this account. But not long afterwards, they were fully informed of all that had happened in the action, with the conſequences alſo that had followed their defeat: That the Carthaginians had gained poſſeſſion of their camp, and drawn all the Gauls to embrace their party: that the Roman legions had abandoned their intrenchments after the battle, and fled for ſafety to the neighbouring cities: and that they were deprived of all ſupplies, except thoſe that were ſent to them from the ſea, up the river Po. An event, ſo contrary to all their expectations, filled them with no ſmall amazement. They immediately renewed their preparations for the war with greater vigour than before; and uſed their utmoſt diligence, to ſecure thoſe parts of their dominions that were moſt expoſed: ſending troops into Sicily and Sardinia; and placing a garriſon in Tarentum, and in every other poſt, that needed ſuch defence. They alſo equipped a fleet of ſixty Quinqueremes. The Conſuls, Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius, who were juſt now elected to their office, raiſed new levies among the allies; enrolled the Roman legions; and having collected ſtores from every quarter, ſent one part to Ariminum, and the reſt towards Tyrrhenia: the places into which they had reſolved to lead their armies. They demanded ſuccours alſo from King Hiero; who ſent to their aſſiſtance five hundred Cretans, with a thouſand heavy-armed Foot. In a

word, every effort was exerted, and every meaſure practiſed, which zeal and extreme diligence could ſuggeſt. For ſuch is the diſpoſition and temper of the Romans, as well in publick affairs, as alſo in their private conduct, that whenever they have any real cauſe of fear, they are at that time themſelves moſt greatly to be dreaded.

During this time, Cnæus Cornelius, who was left by his brother with the fleet, as we before related, ſteered away from the mouth of the Rhone; and having landed his troops in Spain near Emporium, advanced along the coaſt, and reduced by force all the cities that refuſed to ſurrender to him, as far as to the Iberus. But thoſe that voluntarily ſubmitted were treated by him with the greateſt gentleneſs, and protected from every kind of injury. Having ſecured his conqueſts by ſufficient garriſons, and received among his troops a great number of the Spaniards that had come to join him, he continued his march from thence into the inland parts of the country, and in his way gained many towns, ſome by perſuaſion, and ſome by force. When he arrived near Ciſſa, a body of Carthaginians, that were poſted in that province under the command of Hanno, came and incamped before him, with deſign to ſtop his progreſs. But Cornelius, having immediately ranged his troops in battle, gave them an entire defeat, and gained an immenſe booty by his victory. For the army, that had marched with Annibal into Italy, had left all their baggage behind them in this place. He obtained the alliance alſo of all the people, that lived on that ſide of the Iberus; and took priſoner the Carthaginian General, Hanno; together with Andobalis, who was a ſovereign Prince in that part of Spain, and had always ſtrenuouſly ſupported the intereſts of the Carthaginians.

As ſoon as Aſdrubal was informed of theſe tranſactions, he made haſte to paſs the Iberus with his army. And having received notice, that the naval forces of the Romans, grown confident

confident from the ſucceſs which the legions had now gained by land, had relaxed their uſual diſcipline, and neglected all precaution, he ſent away a body of eight thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe; who, falling ſuddenly upon them, when they were diſperſed on every ſide through all the country, killed great numbers of them, and forced the reſt to fly precipitately to their ſhips. He then retired again, and repaſſed the Iberus: and having fixed his quarters for the winter in New Carthage, he employed all his care, to ſecure the poſts that were on that ſide of the river, and to complete all the neceſſary preparations for the war. Cornelius alſo, when he had firſt returned to the fleet, and puniſhed, as the military laws required, all thoſe whoſe negligence had been the cauſe of the late misfortune, ſent away to Tarraco both the naval forces and the legions, to take their winter quarters together in that city. And having made an equal diſtribution alſo of the plunder among all the troops, he gained to himſelf the favour of the army, and inſpired them with the warmeſt hopes. Such was the condition of affairs in Spain.

CHAP. VIII.

AS the Spring now came on, the Conſul Flaminius with the forces that were under his command, directing his march through Tyrrhenia, paſſed beyond Arretium, and there incamped: while Servilius on the other hand advanced towards Ariminum, to oppoſe the entrance of the enemy on that ſide.

Annibal had fixed his winter quarters in the Ciſalpine Gaul. During his continuance there, the Romans, that had fallen into his hands, were all confined in priſons, and ſcarcely received the food that was neceſſary for life. But their allies were treated by him with the greateſt gentleneſs. After ſome

time having aſſembled theſe together, he told them; "that his intention was not to make war upon any of them; but on the contrary, to engage in their defence againſt the Romans: that their intereſt therefore, if they would judge with reaſon, muſt lead them to embrace his friendſhip; ſince the ſole purpoſe of his coming, was in the firſt place to reſtore to all the inhabitants of Italy their ancient freedom: and to aſſiſt likewiſe each particular State, to recover again thoſe towns and territories, of which the Romans had deprived them." After this diſcourſe, he diſmiſſed them all to their ſeveral countries, without demanding any ranſom: imagining, that by this conduct he ſhould gain them to his party, and inſpire their minds with an averſion to the Roman government; or that thoſe eſpecially might be excited to revolt, whoſe ports and cities had been taken from them by the Romans.

At the ſame time he practiſed alſo another artifice, which was truly Carthaginian. Having reflected with himſelf, that his connection with the Gauls was freſh and recent; and fearing, leſt a people ſo noted for their fickleneſs and fraud, ſhould on a ſudden change their ſentiments, and form deſigns againſt his life; he procured ſome artificial ſuits of hair, adapted to the looks of perſons of every age, and different ſorts of habits, that correſponded with them: and varying his dreſs continually, he lay ſo well concealed under this diſguiſe, that not thoſe alone who had ſeen him only in a tranſient view, but even his intimate acquaintance, could ſcarcely know him.

But the Gauls, not willing that the war ſhould any longer be protracted in their country, began to grow importunate and clamorous, and demanded to be led againſt the enemy. This zeal, as they pretended, all aroſe from the reſentment, which they had conceived againſt the Romans. But the real motive was no other than the hope of plunder. Annibal however reſolved to gratify their impatience, and to begin his march

march without delay. As ſoon therefore as the Spring advanced, having inquired of thoſe that were beſt acquainted with the country, he was informed, that all the common roads were not only of conſiderable length, but well known alſo to the Romans: but that, if he would venture to conduct the army over certain marſhes, which would lead directly to Tyrrhenia, his march, though difficult indeed, would yet be ſhort; and ſuch alſo, as muſt fully diſappoint the expectation of the enemy. As the difficulty only ſerved to flatter the diſpoſition of this General, he reſolved that he would take his route that way.

As ſoon as this deſign was known among the army, the ſoldiers were all ſeized with conſternation; and formed in their minds the moſt dreadful image of the pits and pools, into which they ſeemed ready to be plunged. But Annibal being well aſſured that the bottom of the marſhes was firm and ſolid, began his march; placing in the van the Africans and Spaniards, with the moſt ſerviceable part of all his army; and mixing among them as much of the baggage only, as might ſerve for their ſupply in the preſent journey. For with regard to future uſe, he conſidered, that if they ſhould prove victorious, and hold the open country againſt the enemy, their neceſſities would all be fully ſatisfied: and in caſe that they were conquered, that they would then be in want of nothing. After theſe, marched the Gauls: and laſt of all the Cavalry. The care of the rear was left by Annibal to his brother Mago: chiefly on account of the effeminacy of the Gauls, and their known impatience of toil and hardſhip. For the orders given to Mago were, that he ſhould preſs them cloſely from behind, and, as often as they appeared diſheartened by the difficulties of the way, or ſhewed any inclination to return, ſhould fall upon them with his Cavalry, and by force conſtrain them to advance.

The Africans and Spaniards purſued their way, without

any immoderate pain or difficulty. For beſides that the ground was freſh and not yet broken, they were all men that were inured to toil, and by long uſe become familiar with ſuch kind of hardſhip. But when the ſoil had been diſturbed by the paſſage of the foremoſt troops, and trodden through to a conſiderable depth, the Gauls that followed were unable to advance a ſtep, without extreme fatigue and labour: which were the heavier alſo, and more ſeverely felt, becauſe they had never been accuſtomed to ſuch ſufferings. Nor was it poſſible for them to return, while the Cavalry ſtill preſſed upon them from behind, and forced them to advance. Indeed all the army ſuffered much: chiefly through want of ſleep. For during four whole days, and three nights ſucceſſively, they marched continually through water. But the Gauls were harraſſed beyond all the reſt; and even quite exhauſted by their miſeries. The greater part of the beaſts, that were loaded with the baggage, ſtuck faſt in the mud, and periſhed there. But their miſchance afforded ſome convenience to the troops: who threw themſelves down in heaps together, upon the bales that lay above the water; and thus, during ſome part of the night at leaſt, obtained a little ſleep. Many of the horſes alſo left their hoofs behind them in this dreadful journey. Even Annibal himſelf, who was carried upon the only Elephant that remained alive, was ſaved with the greateſt difficulty: having ſuffered, during all the march, great pain and anguiſh, from a diſorder that had ſettled in his eyes. And as the time afforded neither leiſure nor convenience for a cure, he was at laſt deprived by it of the ſight of one of them.

Having now gained however, almoſt beyond all expectation, the end of this dangerous march, and hearing that Flaminius was ſtill poſted near Arretium, he at firſt incamped upon the edge of the marſhes, that he might give ſome eaſe and refreſhment to his troops; and at the ſame time employed all his pains, in ſearching into the deſigns and diſpoſition

poſition of the enemy, as well as the condition of the country that was before him. He was ſoon informed, that the country was rich and fertile, and ſuch as would afford a noble booty: and that Flaminius was a man, who was ſingularly formed by nature for gaining popular applauſe, and was immoderately ambitious of it: that he was filled with a high conceit of his own abilities; but in reality was deſtitute of all thoſe talents, that were requiſite in the affairs of war and real ſervice. Annibal therefore was perſuaded, that if he could once advance beyond the camp of the Romans, and waſte the country before their eyes, Flaminius, provoked beyond all patience, and dreading the reproaches of the multitude, would run with haſte to revenge the inſult; would purſue all the motions of the Carthaginian army; would flatter himſelf with the hope of finiſhing the war alone, before his Collegue could arrive; and in a word, that he would thus afford to his enemies the opportunities that were deſired, of attacking him with ſome advantage.

It is certain that theſe reflections were perfectly the reſult of wiſdom and ſound experience. For all men, even of moderate diſcernment, muſt acknowledge, that nothing is more uſeful, or of greater importance, in the conduct of a General, than to examine with the niceſt care, into the character and natural diſpoſition of the oppoſite Commander. For as in engagements of ſingle men, or of rank with rank, the ſeveral combatants carefully ſurvey the bodies of their adverſaries, in order to diſcern ſome part that may be open to their ſtroke; in the ſame manner alſo, it is neceſſary that a General in the field ſhould endeavour to diſcover, in the Chief that is ſent againſt him, not what parts of his body are moſt vulnerable, but whether there be any weakneſs in his mind and character, through which he may be attacked with ſome advantage. For among thoſe, that are placed at the head of armies, there are ſome, who are ſo deeply immerſed in ſloth and indolence,

that they loſe all attention both to the ſafety of their country, and their own. Others are immoderately fond of wine; ſo that their ſenſes are always diſordered by it, before they ſleep. Others abandon themſelves to the love of women: a paſſion ſo infatuating, that thoſe, whom it has once poſſeſſed, will often ſacrifice whole cities, and even their honour and their lives, to the indulgence of it. Some again are cowards: which is eſteemed no ſlight diſgrace, even among private men. But in a General, this diſpoſition is a publick evil; and draws after it the moſt fatal conſequences. For the troops under his command, not only waſte the time without attempting any thing, but, by their confidence in ſuch a leader, are frequently betrayed into the greateſt dangers. On the other hand, a precipitate raſhneſs, a violence that rejects the rule of reaſon, pride, and vanity, and ſelf-conceit, are all qualities, not more pernicious to the friends of thoſe who poſſeſs them, than advantageous to the enemy. For men of this character are always ready to be taken in every ſnare. Every bait is ſure to catch, and every artifice to delude them.

If a General therefore could be informed of all the weakneſs of his enemy, and would ſo regulate his deſigns, as always to attack the oppoſite Commander in the part in which he is moſt open to ſurprize, no power would long be able to withſtand his efforts. For as a veſſel, that has loſt it's pilot, ſoon becomes an eaſy conqueſt, together with all the crew, ſo likewiſe in the field, if the Chief can once be taken by his foible, and led artfully to the ſnare that is moſt proper to entrap him, both himſelf, and all his army, muſt in a ſhort time fall together into the power of the enemy. This therefore was the addreſs, which Annibal now exerted againſt Flaminius: and the ſucceſs was ſuch, as fully anſwered even his ſtrongeſt hopes.

For no ſooner had he decamped from the neighbourhood of Fæſula, and advancing beyond the Roman camp, began

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to plunder and lay waſte the country, than Flaminius, who conſidered this proceeding as a deſigned contempt and inſult, ſwelled with fury and reſentment. And when the deſtruction began to ſpread, and the ſmoke was ſeen to aſcend from every quarter, he no longer could reſtrain his paſſion, but gave vent to it in bitter exclamations. In vain his officers repreſented to him, that it was by no means ſeaſonable, to purſue or engage the enemy: that the ſtrength, and numbers, of their Cavalry required that he ſhould act with the greateſt reſerve and caution: and that on all accounts it would be far more prudent, to wait the arrival of the other Conſul, and employ together the united forces of both armies. Flaminius was deaf to theſe remonſtrances; and even offended with thoſe that made them. "What, ſaid he, muſt be the ſentiments of all our fellow-citizens at home, when they ſee the country waſted even to the very walls of Rome, while we ſtill keep our poſt behind the enemy, and remain idle in our camp?" With theſe words he immediately began his march: diſdaining to employ even the leaſt care or foreſight, with regard either to the time or place of action: and ſollicitous for nothing, but to overtake the enemy; as if the victory had been already in his hands. And indeed, ſo ſtrong was the aſſurance, with which he had inſpired the multitude, that thoſe who followed the army for the ſake of booty, exceeded even the troops in number; and carried with them chains and fetters, and other implements of the ſame kind, in very great quantity.

In the mean while Annibal ſtill advanced towards Rome, through Tyrrhenia; having on his left Cortona and the neighbouring mountains, and the lake of Thraſymene upon his right: burning and deſtroying every thing in his way, that he might the more provoke the impatience and reſentment of the enemy. But when he ſaw, that Flaminius now drew near, and that the ground before him was very proper alſo for his deſign, he made all things ready for a battle.

In the road, through which the armies were to paſs, there was a level valley, incloſed on either ſide by a chain of lofty mountains. At the fartheſt end of it ſtood a hill, that was rough, and difficult of approach. Near the entrance, was a lake: and between the lake and the foot of the mountains, a very narrow paſs, which led into the valley. Annibal, entering along this defile, marched through the valley: and having gained the hill that was at the fartheſt end, he poſted himſelf upon it, with the Africans and Spaniards. He then ordered the Baleares, and the light-armed troops, who had marched in the van of all the army, to take a circuit round, and range themſelves along the back of the mountains, that ſtood upon the right hand of the valley. The Gauls and Cavalry were diſpoſed in like manner, behind thoſe that were on the oppoſite ſide. And theſe latter were extended to ſo great a length, that the fartheſt troops reached even to the narrow paſs, that was between the foot of the mountains and the lake, and which gave entrance into the valley. He poſted ſome troops alſo in ambuſcade, in different places through the valley: and having completed his whole diſpoſition in the night, he then lay quiet, and expected the approach of the enemy.

Flaminius was following faſt behind, being impatient to overtake the Carthaginians. Arriving late in the evening upon the lake, he incamped there for the night; and early on the following day, began his march into the valley. It happened, that the morning was unuſually dark and miſty. When the greateſt part of the Roman army had now entered along the valley, and the foremoſt troops had almoſt reached the hill, upon which Annibal was poſted, this General then gave the ſignal to engage; ſent notice to the troops that were in ambuſcade; and fell with fury upon the Romans, from every ſide. The ſuddenneſs of the attack, the darkneſs in which all objects were concealed from view, the vigour and rapidity of the enemy, who came pouring down in many parts at once from

from the hills above them, ſtruck Flaminius and his officers with extreme amazement, and made even all defence impracticable. For ſo far were they from being able to give the neceſſary orders, that they neither knew nor comprehended any thing that paſſed. In the ſame ſingle inſtant, they were charged at once in front, in flank, and in the rear. The greateſt part therefore of the troops were deſtroyed in heaps, in the very order in which they marched: deprived even of the power of reſiſting; and betrayed as it were to death by the folly of their General. For while they yet ſtood deliberating on the meaſures that were fit to be purſued, they fell beneath the ſtrokes of their adverſaries, without any notice or warning of their fate. In the midſt of this diſorder, Flaminius himſelf, vexed and tortured with deſpair and rage, was ſurrounded by certain Gauls, who put an end to his life. Fifteen thouſand Romans were deſtroyed in this valley; without being able either to fight, or to eſcape. For they eſteemed it the moſt ſacred of all their inſtitutions, on no account to fly, or ever to deſert their ranks in battle. The reſt, that were incloſed in the narrow paſs between the mountains and the lake, loſt their lives, in a manner that was ſtill more wretched and deplorable. Hurried by deſpair, and puſhed along in crouds before the enemy, they hoped to find their ſafety in the lake. But ſome, attempting to ſwim acroſs it with their armour, were ſoon ſunk and drowned. The reſt and greateſt part, having waded forwards till they were able to advance no farther, ſtood with their heads only above the water; and when the Cavalry followed cloſely after them, and their deſtruction ſeemed inevitable, they raiſed their hands, and with every ſuppliant voice and geſture begged for mercy. But all their prayers were vain, and diſregarded. One part were ſlaughtered by the enemy: and the reſt, having urged each other to the attempt, with their own hands deprived themſelves of life. About ſix thouſand only of all the army, who had marched the firſt along the

the valley, gave an entire defeat to the body that attacked their front. If theſe troops had returned again, and endeavoured to ſurround the Carthaginians, a relief ſo ſeaſonable might have changed perhaps the whole fortune of the battle. But being ignorant of all that was tranſacted, they ſtill continued to advance, expecting to be met by ſome new party, till at laſt they had gained inſenſibly the ſummit of the hills. From thence, as the miſt was now diſperſed, they ſaw the entire ruin of their army, and that the Carthaginians were completely maſters of the field. Perceiving therefore that it was quite impracticable to ſend any aſſiſtance to their routed forces, or in any manner to renew the fight, they formed themſelves into cloſe order, and retreated to a certain village in Tyrrhenia. But when the battle was ended, Maharbal, having received orders from the General to purſue them with the Spaniards and the light-armed troops, inveſted them cloſely in the place. The Romans being thus beſet with various difficulties, and ſeeing no way left to eſcape, conſented to deliver up their arms, and yield themſelves priſoners, on condition only that they ſhould be diſmiſſed with ſafety.

Such were the circumſtances of the battle in Tyrrhenia, between the Carthaginians and the Romans. As ſoon as the priſoners were conducted to the camp, Annibal, having ordered them to be brought before him, as well thoſe that had ſurrendered to Maharbal, as the reſt alſo that were taken in the action, whoſe numbers amounted all together to more than fifteen thouſand men, told the former, that Maharbal had no power to give any promiſe of ſafety, without his authority and conſent. He then began to accuſe and reproach the Romans: and at laſt commanded, that they ſhould be all diſtributed among the ranks of his army, and be guarded carefully. But he diſmiſſed the Allies to their reſpective cities, without demanding any ranſom; having firſt repeated to them the ſame diſcourſe which he before had made: "that his intention was not to

make war againſt the people of Italy, but on the contrary, to reſtore them to their liberty, of which they had been deprived by the Romans." He then gave the neceſſary orders for the refreſhment of the troops; and paid the laſt honours to the chief among his officers, that had fallen in the battle. Theſe were about thirty in number: and in the whole engagement he had loſt no more than fifteen hundred men; the greater part of whom were Gauls. He afterwards deliberated with his brother and the reſt of his friends, concerning the meaſures that were next to be purſued. His paſt ſucceſſes had already filled him with the ſtrongeſt confidence: and flattered him with the hope of every thing that was great and proſperous, with regard to the final iſſue of the war.

CHAP. IX.

WHEN the news of this defeat arrived at Rome, as the misfortune was much too great to be either ſoftened or ſuppreſſed, the magiſtrates were forced to call together an aſſembly of the People, and to acquaint them with the whole tranſaction. But ſcarcely had the Prætor from the Roſtra ſpoken theſe few words, "We have been defeated in a great battle," than ſuch was the conſternation which immediately enſued, that thoſe among the hearers, who had been preſent in the action, were in a manner forced to be perſuaded, that the calamity was far more dreadful, than it had appeared to be even in the time of the engagement. For it was now ſo long a time, ſince the Romans had either ſuffered a defeat, or heard any mention of a battle loſt, that even the ſound itſelf was new, and full of horror; nor could they hear their loſs ſo publickly avowed, without deploring the misfortune with a grief that was beyond all bounds. But the Senate ſtill retained their firmneſs; and, as their poſts required, deliberated with great attention

attention on the meaſures that were neceſſary to be taken, and in what manner they might beſt avert the conſequences of this fatal accident.

About the time of the late engagement, Servilius the other Conſul, who was poſted near Ariminum, which ſtands towards the Adriatic ſea, upon the confines which divide Gaul from the reſt of Italy, at no great diſtance from the mouths of the Po, having heard that Annibal had entered Tyrrhenia, and encamped near Flaminius, at firſt reſolved to march immediately with all his army to ſupport his Collegue. But becauſe the legions were too heavy to perform the march with ſuch expedition as was neceſſary, he ſent away before four thouſand of his Cavalry, under the command of Caius Centenius; that they might be ready to aſſiſt the Conſul, in caſe that there ſhould be occaſion for it, before himſelf was able to arrive. But Annibal, being informed of their approach, ordered Maharbal to advance againſt them with the light-armed troops, and a part alſo of the Cavalry; who, falling upon them in their march, killed almoſt one half of the detachment, in the very firſt onſet. The reſt fled in haſte to a neighbouring hill: but were purſued and taken priſoners on the following day. The news of this misfortune arrived at Rome, within three days only after the account of the former battle; while the city was ſtill inflamed, and every mind ſtrongly filled with the ſenſe of their firſt calamity. And now, not the people only, but the Senate themſelves, were ſtruck with conſternation and amazement. The uſual buſineſs of the year was all neglected; the magiſtrates were no longer choſen as before; every one turned his thoughts to find ſome remedy againſt the impending evils; and the reſult of their deliberations was, that, in times ſo preſſing, a Dictator only could protect the State from the dangers which ſo nearly threatened it.

In the mean while Annibal, though he was now perſuaded that the iſſue of the war would fully anſwer all his hopes, thought

thought it not yet ſeaſonable to advance nearer towards Rome; but continued his route through Umbria and Picenum, waſting the country without reſiſtance, and after ten days arrived in the neighbourhood of Adria; having gained ſo immenſe a booty by the way, that the army could neither carry nor remove it. He had deſtroyed great numbers of people alſo in his march. For ſo unalterable was his hatred of the Romans, and ſo deeply rooted in his mind, that he gave orders to his troops, that they ſhould ſlay without diſtinction all thoſe that were found of age to carry arms, in the ſame manner as when towns are taken by ſtorm.

Having fixed his camp near Adria, in a country which produced all neceſſaries in the greateſt plenty, he firſt employed his care, to provide ſuch refreſhment for the army, as might recover them from their preſent miſerable ſtate. For partly through the cold and naſtineſs, to which they had been expoſed while they lay incamped in Gaul during the winter, and partly alſo from the fatigue which they had ſuffered in their march afterwards through the marſhes, both the men and horſes were now covered with a kind of leprous ſcurf; a diſeaſe, which is uſually the conſequence of famine and continued hardſhips. But theſe rich and fertile plains ſoon ſupplied both the opportunity and the means, of recovering the horſes to their former vigour, and of reſtoring alſo the ſtrength, and raiſing the ſpirits of the troops. He armed alſo his Africans after the Roman manner, from the ſpoils that had been taken: and now for the firſt time ſent ſome meſſengers to Carthage, with an account of his ſucceſs; for he had never before approached near the ſea, from the time of his firſt entrance into Italy. The Carthaginians received the news with the greateſt joy. They began to fix their whole attention upon the affairs of Spain and Italy: and reſolved to employ every effort, to ſupport the war with vigour in thoſe countries.

The Romans named for Dictator, Quintus Fabius: a man of noble birth and great abilities: who gained, by his exploits, the Surname of Maximus; which his deſcendants likewiſe have derived from him, and ſtill enjoy. The office of Dictator is different, both in dignity and power, from that of Conſul. Each of the Conſuls is attended only by twelve Lictors; the Dictator by twenty-four. The Conſuls are in many things reſtrained from acting, unleſs they have firſt obtained the approbation and concurrence of the Senate. But the authority of the Dictator is abſolute, and uncontrouled; and from the time of his appointment, except only that the Tribunes ſtill retain their office, all the Magiſtracies in the State are inſtantly diſſolved. But we ſhall treat more fully of theſe ſubjects in another place. At the ſame time alſo, Minucius was declared Maſter of the Horſe. This officer is entirely ſubject to the Dictator: but in the abſence of the latter, he ſucceeds as it were to his place, and becomes the delegate of all his power.

Annibal changed his camp from time to time, but continued ſtill to move along the Adriatic coaſt. He ordered the horſes to be bathed with old wine, which was found in great abundance in the country; and ſoon healed the ulcerous humours, which had rendered them unfit for ſervice. He recovered the ſoldiers alſo from their wounds: and employed every care and remedy to reſtore to all the troops their full ſtrength and vigour. When this was done, he began his march; paſſed through the diſtricts of Adria and Pretetia; traverſed all the country of the Marucinians and Frentanians; and from thence advanced into Apulia; plundering and deſtroying every thing in his way. Apulia is divided into three ſeparate diſtricts, the names of which are Daunia, Peucetia, and Meſſapia. Annibal, having entered the firſt of theſe, waſted the lands of Luceria, which was a Roman colony: and afterwards, having fixed his camp near Hipponium, in the territory

territory of the Argyripians, he from thence ſpread his troops over all the country, and ravaged it without reſiſtance.

About this time Fabius, when he had firſt offered ſacrifice to the Gods, ſet out from Rome, attended by Minucius, and carrying with him four legions, that were newly raiſed. When he arrived upon the confines of Daunia, and had joined the army that had marched into that province from Ariminum, he diſmiſſed Servilius from his command, and ſent him well attended back to Rome: with orders, that if the Carthaginians ſhould make any attempt upon the ſea, he ſhould be ready to obſerve their motions, and to act as occaſion might require. He then advanced with all the forces, and incamped near a place called Æca, at the diſtance of about fifty ſtadia from the enemy.

As ſoon as Annibal was informed of their approach, he drew out all his army, and, in order to ſtrike a terror into theſe new troops upon their firſt arrival, advanced near to the Roman camp, and ſtood for ſome time in order of battle. But when the Romans remained ſtill cloſe in their intrenchments, he returned back again to his camp. For Fabius was fixed in his determination, not to hazard any raſh attempt, or on any account to try the fortune of a general battle: but on the contrary, to employ his chief and only care, to ſecure his troops from danger. At firſt indeed, this conduct drew upon him no ſmall reproach and cenſure; while every one conſidered him, as a man that was cold and cowardly, and who feared to engage the enemy. But after ſome ſhort time, the wiſdom of his ſentiments was clearly proved by the event: and all men then were ready to acknowledge, that the meaſures, which he now purſued, were by far the beſt and moſt judicious, that could be taken in the preſent circumſtances. For the Carthaginian troops had all been exerciſed in one continued courſe of war, even from their earlieſt age. Their General alſo from his infancy was trained in camps; among thoſe very

troops which he now commanded. They had gained many ſignal victories in Spain: and had defeated the Romans and their allies, in two ſucceſſive battles. But the point of greateſt moment was, that they had no reſource or hope in any thing but victory. On the part of the Romans, all circumſtances were contrary to theſe: ſo that their defeat muſt have been inevitable, if they had now riſked a general battle. But Fabius wiſely choſe to have recourſe to that one advantage, which belonged confeſſedly to the Romans; and to regulate the whole conduct of the war upon it. This advantage was, that they might ſtill receive into their camp ſupplies both of men and ſtores; without any apprehenſion that the ſource, from whence they were derived, could ever be exhauſted.

From this time therefore, he attended cloſely to the motions of the Carthaginian army; following ſtill at a moderate diſtance; and taking care to ſecure, before the enemy, all thoſe poſts, which, from his acquaintance with the country, he knew to be moſt proper for his deſign. And as he ſtill received ſupplies in the greateſt plenty, he never ſent his troops abroad to forage, or ſuffered them to ſtraggle from the camp: but kept them always cloſe together, and united in a body; attending carefully to every advantage, which time and place ſuggeſted; and by that means intercepted and deſtroyed many parties of the Carthaginian foragers, whom their contempt of the Romans frequently led away to too great a diſtance from their own intrenchments. Thus, while he diminiſhed by degrees the numbers of the enemy, he at the ſame time exerciſed the ſtrength of his own forces, and raiſed again their courage, which had been much depreſſed by the late defeats. But no perſuaſions could prevail upon him to try the fortune of a general battle. This conduct was in all points very unpleaſing to Minucius; who mixed his ſentiments with thoſe of the diſcontented multitude; charging the Dictator with ſloth and cowardice;

cowardice; and proclaiming on his own part the utmoſt impatience to ſeek and engage the enemy.

The Carthaginians, when they had ravaged all the places that have now been mentioned, paſſed the Apennine, and came into the country of the Samnites: which, as it naturally was very rich and fertile, and had now for a long time flouriſhed in continual peace, afforded every kind of neceſſaries in ſo great abundance, that not all the waſte and conſumption which they made were ſufficient to exhauſt it. They made incurſions likewiſe upon the lands of Beneventum, a Roman colony; and took Teleſia, a city that was ſtrongly fortified with walls, and which yielded alſo a very great booty. The Romans ſtill followed cloſe behind, at the diſtance of one or two days march; but never approached ſo near, as to afford the opportunity of a battle.

When Annibal perceived, that Fabius thus perſiſted to decline a general action, and yet refuſed to leave the field, he formed a very bold and hardy project, and reſolved to throw himſelf at once with all his army into the plains of Capua, near the place that was called Falernus: being perſuaded, either that the Romans muſt then be forced to venture on a battle; or that all mankind would ſee, that he was confeſſedly the maſter of the open country: and that the neighbouring towns would from thence be ſtruck with terror, and haſten to embrace his party. For though the Romans had been now defeated in two ſucceſſive battles, not one ſingle city had revolted from them, to join the Carthaginians. But all remained unſhaken in their duty; though many of them on that account had been expoſed to the ſevereſt ſufferings. Such was the dignity of the Roman Republick; and ſo great the awe and veneration, in which it was held by the allies.

It muſt be acknowledged, that this deſign was very wiſe and reaſonable. For the plains of Capua are diſtinguiſhed, not only by their natural beauty and fertility, above the reſt

of

of Italy, but by their happy ſituation alſo near the ſea; which fills their markets alſo with the commerce of almoſt every part of the habitable world. Their cities likewiſe are more celebrated for their beauty, than any that are beſides in Italy. Along the coaſt ſtand Sinueſſa, Cumæ, Dicæarchia, Neapolis, and Nuceria: in the inland parts, towards the north, Calenum and Teanum; to the ſouth and eaſt, Daunium and Nola; and near the middle of the country, Capua, the nobleſt and moſt ſplendid of them all. In a word, ſo delicious are theſe plains, that the Mythologiſts may ſeem perhaps to be not altogether removed from truth, in that which they relate concerning them. For theſe are called alſo the Phlegræan fields; as well as ſome other parts of the earth, that are diſtinguiſhed by their beauty and fertility: and even the Gods themſelves are reported to have contended together in former times for the ſovereignty and poſſeſſion of them. But beſides theſe great advantages, this country alſo is by nature very ſtrongly fortified, and difficult of all acceſs. For as one part of it is bounded by the ſea, the reſt ſtands covered by a chain of lofty mountains, which admit no entrance, except only by the way of three very narrow paſſes; of which one lies towards the country of the Samnites, another along mount Eribanus, and the third on the ſide of the Hirpinians. The Carthaginians therefore, by incamping in the very middle of theſe plains, were going as it were to ſtand upon a publick and conſpicuous Theatre; from whence, they were ſure to aſtoniſh all mankind by the uncommon boldneſs of the attempt, and, if the Romans ſhould ſtill decline a battle, to make it manifeſt, that they had driven them from the ſtage, and remained without diſpute the maſters of the open country.

With this deſign, Annibal, leaving now the territory of the Samnites, entered Campania by the paſs of mount Eribanus; and having continued his march as far as to the river Athurnus, which flows through the middle of the plains, and

divides them into two nearly equal parts, he incamped on that ſide of it which was neareſt towards Rome; and from thence ſent out his foragers, and waſted all the country without reſiſtance. A deſign ſo bold and hazardous filled the Dictator with ſurprize; but at the ſame time fixed him ſtill more ſtrongly in his firſt determination. But Minucius, and the reſt of the Roman officers, being all now perſuaded, that the enemy were at laſt enſnared in a place in which they might be attacked with great advantage, adviſed, that no moment ſhould be loſt; that they ſhould haſten to purſue the Carthaginians; ſhould offer battle to them in theſe plains; and ſave the nobleſt part of Italy from ruin. Fabius therefore was forced to yield to their impatience; and, covering his real ſentiments, began his march with the greateſt haſte, as if he had concurred with them in the ſame deſign. But when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Falernus, he only ſhewed his army upon the bottom of the hills, marching ſtill on one ſide of the enemy as they advanced, that he might not be thought by the allies to have entirely left the field: but refuſed to deſcend into the plain, or riſk the fortune of a general engagement; as well from the other reaſons that have before been mentioned, as moſt eſpecially, becauſe the Carthaginians were far ſuperior to him in their Cavalry.

But Annibal, having now waſted all the country, and in vain endeavoured to draw the Romans to a battle, was again preparing to decamp: that he might be able to remove the booty, before it was conſumed, into ſome place of ſafety, and there fix his quarters for the winter. For his intention was, that the troops not only ſhould enjoy a preſent plenty, but be ſupplied continually with all kinds of neceſſaries in great abundance, for the time to come. When Fabius perceived, that the Carthaginians deſigned to take their route back again, by the ſame way along which they had entered, and that the narrowneſs and difficulty of the road afforded the

moſt

moſt favourable opportunity to fall upon them in their retreat, he ſent away a body of four thouſand men, with orders that they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the defiles through which the enemy were to paſs; ſhould attend, with the greateſt care, to the proper time of action; and loſe none of thoſe advantages, which their ſituation could ſcarcely fail to throw into their power: while himſelf at the ſame time took his poſt, with the greateſt part of all the army, upon a neighbouring hill, which commanded the defiles.

The Carthaginians, continuing their march forwards, came and incamped at the very foot of the hills. The Romans were perſuaded, that they ſhould with eaſe recover all the booty; and even began to hope, that, with the advantage of the place, they might perhaps be able to give a full determination to the war. In this confidence, the Dictator was now employing all his thoughts and care, in examining into the nature of the ſeveral poſts, and in making ſuch a diſpoſition as was requiſite, with regard both to the time and manner of the attack. The neceſſary meaſures were all fully regulated: and were to have been carried into execution on the following day.

But Annibal, having conjectured from all circumſtances, what it was that the Romans, upon this occaſion, would moſt probably attempt, contrived to defeat all their projects, and gave them neither time nor opportunity, to accompliſh any part of that which had been thus concerted. Having aſſembled together all the pioneers and labourers of the army, who were under the command of Aſdrubal, he ordered them to provide as much dry wood, and other combuſtible matter, as they were able to procure; to bind it together in bundles fit for torches; and to chooſe out of all the plunder two thouſand of the ſtrongeſt oxen, and conduct them to a little diſtance without the camp. At the ſame time he ſhewed to them a certain hill, which ſtood between the camp and thoſe

defiles

defiles through which he was to paſs: and inſtructed them, that, as ſoon as they ſhould have received his orders, they ſhould drive the oxen up the ſides of the hill with great ſpeed and force, till they had gained the top. He then diſmiſſed them, that they might all take their ſupper, and afterwards a little ſleep. But about three hours after midnight, having called them again together, he ordered them to bind the torches to the horns of the oxen, to ſet them on fire, and drive the beaſts by violence before them towards the ſummit of the hill. The light-armed troops were poſted alſo behind the pioneers: to aſſiſt at firſt in driving the oxen forwards. But as ſoon as the beaſts ſhould be engaged in a proper courſe of running, they were then commanded to ſpread themſelves upon the right and left on both ſides of them; to puſh their way with ſpeed, and with loud ſhouts and noiſe; to poſſeſs themſelves of all the eminencies; and be prepared to attack the enemy, if any of them ſhould be found upon the ſummit of the hill. At the ſame time Annibal himſelf, with all his army, advanced towards the paſſes: having in his van the heavy Infantry; the Cavalry, followed by the booty, in the centre; and the Gauls and Spaniards in his rear.

As ſoon as the Romans, who were poſted in the entrance of the defiles, ſaw the light of the torches, imagining that Annibal was taking his route that way, they left immediately their firſt ſtation, and haſtened to aſcend the hill. But when they approached the oxen, the ſight of thoſe ſtrange fires filled them with doubt and conſternation, and raiſed dreadful apprehenſions in their minds, of ſome danger far more terrible than the truth. The light-armed troops, as they met together upon the ſummit of the hill, were engaged in ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhing. But the oxen falling in among them, ſoon ſeparated the combatants, and forced them to remain quiet in their place; expecting with impatience the appearance of the day, that they might then be able to diſcern the real ſtate of

things around them. The Dictator likewiſe, being in part ſurprized by what had happened, and ſuſpecting that it covered ſome deceit; and partly alſo becauſe he ſtill perſiſted in his firſt determination, not raſhly to engage in a general battle, remained quiet in his intrenchments, and waited for the day. In the mean while Annibal, perceiving that all things favoured his deſign, and that the Romans, who were appointed to guard the paſſes, had left their poſt, conducted his army through them, together with the booty, without any loſs. And when day appeared, obſerving that his light-armed forces were expoſed to ſome danger from the Romans that had gained the ſummit of the hill, he ſent a body of Spaniards to their aſſiſtance; who engaged the enemy, killed about a thouſand of them, and deſcended again in ſafety with the reſt of the troops.

The Carthaginian General, having thus happily led his army back again from the plains of Capua, incamped without fear of any inſult; and had now no other care, than to conſider, in what place he ſhould fix his quarters for the winter. This retreat ſpread a very great and general conſternation through all the towns of Italy. The Dictator alſo was loaded with the ſevereſt cenſure and reproach: as if nothing, but the baſeſt cowardice, could have ſuffered the enemy to eſcape, when he had ſuch advantages in his hands againſt them. But Fabius ſtill remained unſhaken in his purpoſe. Being forced, within ſome days afterwards, to return to Rome, in order to aſſiſt in celebrating certain ſacrifices, he delivered up the army to Minucius: and at the ſame time preſſed him with the greateſt earneſtneſs, to be much leſs ſollicitous to gain any advantage againſt the enemy, than to cover his own troops from danger. But Minucius was ſo far from paying even the leaſt attention to theſe intreaties, that on the contrary, while the Dictator was ſtill ſpeaking, his mind was wholly fixed on the deſign of fighting. Such was the ſtate of the war in Italy.

CHAP. X.

ABOUT the ſame time Aſdrubal, who governed the affairs of Spain, having ordered the thirty veſſels, that were left with him by his brother, to be refitted during the winter, and added to them ten more alſo completely furniſhed and equipped, as ſoon as the Spring came on, ordered all the fleet, which conſiſted now of forty ſhips, to ſail from New Carthage under the conduct of Amilcar, and to ſteer their courſe along the coaſt; while himſelf, having drawn the forces from their winter quarters, began his march, keeping his route likewiſe cloſe along the ſhore; that thus both armies might meet, and act together, near the Iberus. Cnæus, having conjectured, without great difficulty, that this was the intention of the Carthaginians, at firſt reſolved to begin his march by land, and to offer battle to their army. But when he had afterwards received a more exact account of the number of their troops, and the preparations which they had made, he deſiſted from that deſign: and having equipped a fleet of thirty-five ſhips, and filled them with a body of ſelect forces from the legions, he ſailed from Tarraco, and arriving on the ſecond day near the mouth of the Iberus, caſt anchor at the diſtance of eighty ſtadia from the enemy, and ſent away two light frigates, that belonged to the Maſſilians, to make diſcoveries. For this people were at all times ready to meet every difficulty, and to throw themſelves the foremoſt into danger. And as their zeal, and generous attachment to the intereſts of the Romans, have often been ſhewn in later times, ſo were they moſt eſpecially conſpicuous in the great ſervices which they performed, during the courſe of the preſent war. As ſoon as theſe veſſels were returned, with an account that the Carthaginian fleet was ſtationed near the mouth of the

river, Cnæus immediately ſailed away in haſte, hoping to fall upon them by ſurprize, before they could receive any notice of his approach. But Aſdrubal had long before ſent his ſcouts abroad: and being now informed, that the enemy were advancing faſt towards him, he ranged his army in battle upon the ſhore, and ordered all the naval forces to get immediately on board: and when the Romans appeared in ſight, he ſailed out to meet them, and raiſed the ſignal to engage. But the Carthaginians, though they began the fight with vigour, ſuſtained it but for a ſhort time only. For the troops, that ſtood in view along the ſhore, were ſo far from animating them to any higher degree of alacrity and confidence, that, on the contrary, they only ſerved to check their courage, and reſtrain their efforts, by affording the proſpect of an eaſy and ſecure retreat. As ſoon therefore as two of their ſhips were taken with their men, and four more diſabled, their oars being broken and their ſoldiers killed, the reſt all fled with great precipitation; and having forced their veſſels cloſe in to land, ſaved themſelves among the troops that ſtood upon the ſhore. The Romans purſued boldly after them, to the very ſhore. And having bound faſt behind the ſtern of their own veſſels as many of the Carthaginian ſhips as could be ſet in motion, which were twenty-five in number, they ſailed back again in triumph, and with no ſmall joy: having thus in the very firſt onſet gained a victory, which rendered them the entire maſters of the ſea, and by that means wholly changed the face of affairs in Spain.

As ſoon as the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, they immediately equipped another fleet of ſeventy ſhips. For they judged it to be a point of the laſt importance, with regard to the proſecution of the war, that they ſhould ſtill preſerve their ſovereignty upon the ſea. This fleet, having firſt ſteered their courſe towards Sardinia, ſailed from thence to Piſæ; in the hope, that they ſhould there join Annibal, and be

be able to act in concert with him. But being informed that the Romans had ſent againſt them a fleet of a hundred and twenty Quinqueremes, they returned back again to Sardinia, and from thence to Carthage. Servilius for ſome time followed after them with the Roman fleet: but when he found, that they had gained a very great diſtance from him, he deſiſted from the purſuit, and anchored in the port of Lilybæum. From thence having ſteered his courſe towards Cercina, which ſtands upon the coaſt of Afric, he forced the inhabitants to pay a ſum of money, to ſave their country from being plundered. In his return, he made himſelf maſter alſo of the iſland Coſſyrus: and having placed a garriſon in the little town that was in it, he then ſailed back again to Lilybæum, laid up the fleet in harbour, and returned not long afterwards to the army.

When the news arrived at Rome, of the victory that had been gained by Cnæus againſt the Carthaginians, the Senate began now to think, that it not only was expedient, but abſolutely neceſſary, that they from this time ſhould attend more cloſely to the affairs of Spain, and ſupport the war in that country with greater application and vigour than before. They reſolved therefore that Publius Scipio, to whom this province was at firſt allotted, ſhould ſail away immediately with twenty ſhips to join his brother Cnæus, and to act in concert with him. For they were under no ſmall apprehenſions, that the Carthaginians, in caſe that they could once obtain the conqueſt of this country, with all the wealth that might be drawn in great abundance from it, would in a ſhort time become ſuperior alſo upon the ſea, and from thence be enabled more ſtrongly to ſupport the war in Italy, and to furniſh Annibal from time to time with continual ſupplies both of men and ſtores. In order to avoid this danger, which indeed demanded their moſt ſerious care, they now ſent Publius into Spain. This General, even upon his firſt arrival, purſued

ſuch

ſuch meaſures, as greatly advanced the intereſt, and enlarged the power of the Republick. For before this time, the Romans never had attempted to extend their views beyond the Iberus; but were fully ſatisfied with having gained the alliance of the people that lived on this ſide of it. But Publius now paſſed the river, and reſolved to maintain the war on the other ſide. An accident at the ſame time happened, which greatly favoured this deſign. The Romans, when they had paſſed the Iberus without any reſiſtance from the neighbouring people, who were ſtruck with terror at their approach, encamped near a temple that was conſecrated to Venus, at the diſtance of about forty ſtadia from Saguntum: in a poſt in which they not only were ſecure againſt all danger from the enemy, but were able alſo to receive ſupplies continually from their fleet, which, as the army advanced, had ſtill ſailed along the coaſt. In this place, the adventure happened to them, which I am going to relate.

At the time when Annibal was preparing to march into Italy, he had taken Hoſtages from all the towns in Spain, of whoſe fidelity he had any doubt, and ordered them to be kept together at Saguntum: both becauſe this city was a place of ſtrength; and becauſe the government alſo of it was left by him in the hands of men, in whom he had an entire and perfect confidence. The Hoſtages were all of them the children of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families, in the ſeveral cities from whence they had been ſent. There was a certain Spaniard, whoſe name was Abilyx; of high rank and character in his country; and one, who had always ſeemed to be attached more ſtrongly even than any of his nation, to all the intereſts of the Carthaginians. This man, having carefully weighed all circumſtances, and judging that the Romans had now the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs, formed the deſign of betraying his faith to his allies, and delivering up theſe hoſtages to the enemy: a project, truly worthy of a Spaniard and Barbarian.

But

But he had perſuaded himſelf, that this declaration of his zeal in favour of the Romans could not fail to raiſe him to a very high degree of credit and eſteem among them: eſpecially, when joined to a ſervice of ſo great importance, and rendered in ſo critical a ſeaſon.

He went therefore to Boſtar, the Carthaginian General, who had been ſent by Aſdrubal to oppoſe the paſſage of the Romans over the Iberus, but not daring to riſk a battle, had retired and fixed his camp near Saguntum, on the ſide towards the ſea. He was a man of a mild and harmleſs diſpoſition; eaſy and tractable in his nature; and not forward to ſuſpect any ill deſigns. Abilyx, beginning his diſcourſe with the ſubject of the hoſtages, repreſented to him, "that as the Romans had now paſſed the river, the Carthaginians no longer would be able by the means of terror to keep the Spaniards under due reſtraint: that the times required, that they rather ſhould employ their pains, to win the affections of the people, and fix them in their intereſt by favour: that as Saguntum might perhaps in a ſhort time fall into the power of the Romans, who were now encamped before it, if Boſtar, ſeizing the occaſion, would ſend back the hoſtages to their parents and reſpective cities, he would not only diſappoint the expectations of the enemy, who were earneſtly ſollicitous to become maſters of them, for this very purpoſe; but by his wiſe and timely care, in thus providing for the ſafety of theſe young men, would ſecure alſo the affections of the Spaniards to the Carthaginians: that if he would truſt to Him the conduct of this buſineſs, he would take care abundantly to magnify the merit of the kindneſs; and, as he led the hoſtages to the ſeveral cities, would raiſe, not only in the parents, but in all the people of the country likewiſe, the warmeſt ſentiments of eſteem and favour, by painting in the ſtrongeſt colours the generoſity of this proceeding. In the laſt place, he reminded him; that himſelf might alſo expect to be rewarded

rewarded in the ampleſt manner: and that every parent, when he had thus beyond all hope recovered what was deareſt to him, would ſtrive to exceed the reſt in his acknowledgements, and load with favours the Commander, to whoſe power he was indebted for ſo great a happineſs." By theſe, and many other arguments of the ſame kind, he prevailed on Boſtar to approve of all that was propoſed. And having fixed the day, on which he was to be in readineſs, with ſome attendants, to receive the hoſtages, he then retired.

As ſoon as night was come, he went privately to the Roman camp, joined ſome Spaniards that were at that time in the army, and was carried by them to the Generals. And having, in a long diſcourſe, repreſented to them the great alacrity and zeal, with which the Spaniards would all concur to promote the intereſt of the Romans, if through their means the hoſtages ſhould be reſtored, he at laſt engaged to deliver the young men into their hands. Publius received this offer with the greateſt eagerneſs and joy, and diſmiſſed him with the aſſurance of immenſe rewards: having firſt appointed the time and place, in which he would himſelf attend his coming. Abilyx then returned again to Boſtar, with ſome friends whom he had choſen for the occaſion; received the hoſtages; and leaving Saguntum in the night, on pretence of concealing his motions from the enemy, paſſed beyond the Roman camp, and delivered them to the Generals at the appointed place. He was received by Publius with all poſſible marks of honour; and was charged with the care of conducting back the hoſtages to their reſpective cities. Some Romans alſo, that were moſt proper for the truſt, were ordered to attend him. In every place through which they paſſed, the diſmiſſion of theſe young men was highly magnified by Abilyx, as a ſignal inſtance of the clemency, and generous ſpirit of the Romans. On the other hand, he diſplayed in the ſtrongeſt colour, the jealous diffidence of the Carthaginians, and the ſeverity with

which they had always treated their allies. He urged his own example likewiſe, as an encouragement to them to revolt. By theſe perſuaſions, many of the Spaniards were led to embrace the friendſhip of the Romans. With regard to Boſtar, he was thought to have acted with ſuch weakneſs, as was by no means to be excuſed in a perſon of his age; and was afterwards involved, on that account, in very great misfortunes. The Romans, on the contrary, derived many advantages from this accident, in the proſecution of the war. But as the time for action was already paſt, both armies now retired to their quarters for the winter. In this ſtate, we ſhall here leave the affairs of Spain, and return again to Italy.

CHAP. XI.

ANNIBAL, being informed by thoſe whom he had ſent to view the country, that the lands round Luceria and Gerunium afforded great quantities of corn, and that the laſt of theſe two cities was a commodious place for laying up his ſtores, reſolved to fix his quarters for the winter there. Paſſing therefore beyond the mountain called Liburnus, he led his army to Gerunium, which was diſtant from Luceria about two hundred ſtadia. On his firſt approach, he endeavoured by gentle means to draw the citizens to his party: and even offered ſuch engagements, as might ſecure to them the full performance of his promiſes. But when this propoſal was rejected, he laid ſiege to the place; and having in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of it, ordered all the inhabitants to be deſtroyed. But he reſerved the walls, together with the greater part of the houſes, ſtill entire; deſigning to convert them into granaries for the winter. He then ordered the army to incamp before the town, and threw up an intrenchment round his camp. From this poſt he ſent away two parts of all

the forces, to gather in the corn: with orders, that each ſoldier ſhould be obliged to bring a ſtated meaſure of it every day, to the Officers of his own Company that were appointed to receive it. The remaining third part of the troops were left to guard the camp; or diſpoſed, as occaſion required, in proper poſts, to ſupport the foragers. As the country was plain and open, the number of the foragers almoſt infinite, and the ſeaſon likewiſe proper for the work, vaſt quantities of corn were collected every day.

The Roman General Marcus, to whom Fabius had left the army when he returned to Rome, for ſome time ſhifted his poſt from hill to hill, attending to the motions of the Carthaginians, and flattering himſelf with the hope, that he ſhould at laſt find ſome occaſion to fall upon them with advantage from thoſe eminencies. But when he heard that they were maſters of Gerunium, had fortified their camp before the town, and were employed in gathering ſtores from all the country, he immediately left the mountains; and deſcending along the promontory that gave entrance to the plain, incamped near the foot of a hill that was called Callene, in the diſtrict of Larinum; and reſolved without more delay, to bring the enemy to a battle. When Annibal was informed that the Romans were ſo near, he ſent one third part only of his troops to gather in the corn; and advancing with the reſt towards the enemy, fixed his camp upon a hill, at a diſtance of about ſixteen ſtadia from Gerunium: that he might reſtrain in ſome degree the ardour of the Romans; and be able alſo to ſupport his foragers, as occaſion ſhould require. And when night came on, he ordered likewiſe a detachment of two thouſand light-armed forces, to march and poſſeſs themſelves of another neighbouring hill, which ſtood between the camps, and commanded that of the Romans. But as ſoon as day appeared, Minucius drew out alſo all his light-armed troops, and ſent them to diſlodge the Carthaginians from their poſt.

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The diſpute was ſharp and obſtinate: but the Romans, having at laſt prevailed, remained maſters of the hill; and came ſoon afterwards with all their army, and incamped upon it.

As the diſtance between the two camps was now ſo inconſiderable, Annibal at firſt kept together in a body the greateſt part of all the army. But after ſome days, he was forced to ſend abroad his detachments as before; to lead the cattle to their paſture, and to gather in the corn; having reſolved, agreeably to his firſt deſign, not only to preſerve entire the ſtores which he had already gained, but to draw together alſo as large a quantity of corn as he might yet be able to procure; that thus the troops, the beaſts of burthen, and eſpecially the horſes, might be ſupplied with all proviſions in the greateſt plenty, during the time of winter. For his chief and ſtrongeſt hopes were founded on the Cavalry. When Minucius ſaw, that the greater part of the Carthaginian army was buſied in this work, and diſperſed on every ſide through all the country, he choſe the time that was moſt proper for his purpoſe, and leading out all his forces, approached cloſe to the intrenchments of the enemy with the legionary troops, drawn up in order of battle: and at the ſame time ſent away, in ſeparate diviſions, his Cavalry and the light-armed forces, to fall upon the foragers; with orders, that they ſhould take none alive. Annibal was in no ſmall degree embarraſſed by this ſudden accident. For as the forces, that remained with him in the camp, were too few to be drawn out in battle againſt the legions; ſo neither, on the other hand, was he able to ſend any aſſiſtance to the reſt, that were diſperſed about the country. Great numbers therefore of the foragers were deſtroyed by the detachments that were ſent againſt them: while the reſt of the Roman forces, that were ranged in order of battle, arrived at laſt at ſuch a height of inſult, that they even began to tear away the paliſade of the intrenchments, and almoſt beſieged the Carthaginians in their camp. Annibal,

though thus reduced to a condition that ſeemed indeed to be next to deſperate, ſtruggled with all his force againſt the ſtorm; drove back the enemy as they advanced; and kept poſſeſſion of his camp, though not without the greateſt difficulty. But after ſome time, when Aſdrubal was come to his aſſiſtance, with four thouſand of the foragers who had fled together to the camp before Gerunium, he then reſumed his courage, marched out of his intrenchments, and, having ranged his forces in order of battle at a little diſtance from the camp, at laſt repelled the ruin that ſo nearly threatened him. The Romans returned back again to their camp, elate with their ſucceſs, and filled with the ſtrongeſt hopes for the time to come. For many of the Carthaginians had fallen before the intrenchments; and a much greater number, of thoſe that were ſpread through the country, were deſtroyed by the parties that were ſent againſt them. On the following day, Minucius went and took poſſeſſion of the camp, which the Carthaginians now had quitted. For Annibal, as ſoon as the fight was ended, had reſolved to return again to his firſt camp before Gerunium: being apprehenſive, that if the Romans ſhould march thither in the night, and finding the camp deſerted, ſhould take poſſeſſion of it, they would by that means become maſters of his baggage, and all his ſtores. After this action, the Carthaginians uſed great precaution, when they went abroad to forage: while the Romans, on the contrary, were bold and confident, and expoſed themſelves to danger, without any caution or reſerve.

When the news of this ſucceſs arrived at Rome, and was enlarged in the relation far beyond the bounds of truth, the people all were filled with the greateſt joy. For firſt, as the deſpair into which they had lately fallen, with reſpect to the final iſſue of the war, ſeemed now to have given place to better hopes; ſo the terror likewiſe, that had hitherto been ſpread among the legions, and the inaction in which they had

ſtill remained, were judged clearly to have ſprung, not from any want of courage in the troops, but from the cold and cautious diſpoſition of the General. From this time therefore, Fabius was openly reproached by all; as a man, who through timidity had ſuffered even the faireſt occaſions to eſcape him: while Minucius, on the other hand, was raiſed ſo high in the opinion of the citizens by this exploit, that a reſolution was taken in his favour, of which there was no example. For they declared him Dictator likewiſe: being perſuaded, that the war would thus be brought to a quick deciſion. Thus there were at one time two Dictators, intruſted jointly with the conduct of a ſingle war: a thing never known before among the Romans.

As ſoon as Minucius was informed of the high applauſe and favour, which his conduct had gained for him among the citizens, and of the dignity to which the people now had raiſed him, he became much more eager and impetuous than before; and reſolved to attempt every thing againſt the enemy. But Fabius was not to be moved by any of theſe accidents: but on the contrary, perſiſted even with greater firmneſs in his firſt determination. When he returned therefore to the army, and ſaw that Minucius was elated beyond all bounds; that he haughtily oppoſed him in every ſentiment; and was urging him perpetually to venture on a battle; he offered to his choice, that he ſhould either take in turn the ſingle and ſupreme command of all the army; or remove with one half of the troops to a ſeparate camp, and there purſue ſuch meaſures as he ſhould judge convenient. Minucius eagerly embraced the laſt propoſal. The forces therefore were divided into two equal bodies; and incamped apart, having the diſtance of about twelve ſtadia between their camps.

When Annibal was informed, as well by this diviſion of the forces, as from the priſoners alſo that were taken, that ſome contention had been raiſed between the Generals; and that

that it ſolely ſprung from the ungovernable heat and ambition of Minucius; he was ſo far from apprehending, that this accident would in any manner prove pernicious to his intereſts, that on the contrary he conceived the hope of being able to draw great advantage from it. He reſolved therefore from this time to obſerve with the greateſt care the motions of Minucius; to meet, and reſtrain his ardour; and to prevent him in all his efforts. Between his camp and that of Marcus, there ſtood an eminence, from whence thoſe, that ſhould firſt gain poſſeſſion of it, might be able greatly to diſtreſs the enemy. Annibal reſolved to ſeize this poſt; and not doubting but that the Romans, confident from their late ſucceſs, would haſten to diſlodge him from it, he employed the following ſtratagem. The country that was round the hill was a flat and naked plain: but the ground in many parts was broken and unequal, and abounded with various kinds of pits. He ſent away therefore in the night a body of five hundred Horſe, and about five thouſand Foot; which were diſtributed in ſmall diviſions, of two and three hundred each, among the ſeveral cavities in which they beſt might lie concealed. And that they might not be diſcovered in the morning by the Roman foragers, he ordered his light-armed troops to take poſſeſſion of the eminence before break of day. Minucius, perceiving what had happened, applauded his good fortune, and immediately ſent away the light-armed troops, with orders that they ſhould charge the Carthaginians with the greateſt vigour, and exert all their efforts to drive them from their poſt. In a ſhort time afterwards, he commanded the Cavalry alſo to advance: and himſelf then followed with the legions. His diſpoſition was the ſame, as in the former battle. It was now clear day. But as the Romans directed their eyes, and whole attention, towards the combatants upon the hill, the Carthaginian troops, that were placed in ambuſcade, remained ſecure and unſuſpected. Annibal ſent freſh troops continually

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to the hill: and himſelf in a ſhort time followed with the Cavalry, and all the army. The Cavalry on both ſides were ſoon engaged. But as the Carthaginians were far ſuperior in their numbers, the light-armed forces of the Romans, being alſo preſſed in this firſt conflict, fled back precipitately towards their own legions, and threw them into great diſorder. In this moment, the ſignal was given by Annibal to the troops that were in ambuſcade; who appeared on every ſide, and vigorouſly charged the Romans. And now not the light-armed forces only, but the whole army, was in danger of being irrecoverably loſt. But Fabius, having from his camp obſerved the progreſs of the action, and perceiving that a general and entire defeat muſt ſoon enſue, drew out all his forces, and advanced in haſte to the aſſiſtance of his Collegue. The Romans, though their ranks all were broken, now reſumed their courage; and as theſe troops approached, formed themſelves again in order, and retired towards them for protection. But many of their light-armed forces had fallen in the action; and a much greater number of the legionaries, and braveſt ſoldiers. Annibal, not daring to renew the fight, againſt troops that were freſh, and diſpoſed in perfect order, deſiſted from the purſuit, and returned back again to his camp.

The Romans, being thus reſcued from deſtruction, were at laſt fully ſenſible, that the raſhneſs of Minucius had engaged them in ſuch meaſures, as proved almoſt fatal to them: and that they owed their ſafety, not at this time only, but on former occaſions likewiſe, to the cautious management of Fabius. The people alſo at Rome were now forced to acknowledge, that a wiſe and ſteady conduct, regulated by ſound ſkill, and judgement in the art of war, is far to be preferred to all thoſe raſh and impetuous ſallies, which reſult from mere perſonal bravery, and a vain deſire of popular applauſe. From this time therefore, the troops, made wiſe by their misfortunes, incamped once more together; and reſolved to leave to Fabius

the whole conduct of the war, and punctually to receive and execute his orders. The Carthaginians drew a line between the eminence and their camp: and having thrown up an intrenchment alſo round the top of the hill, and poſted ſome troops upon it, they had now leiſure to complete, in full ſecurity, the preparations that were neceſſary for the winter.

CHAP. XII.

WHEN the time was come, in which the Romans uſually elected their chief Magiſtrates, the people choſe for Conſuls, Lucius Æmilius and Caius Terentius; and the Dictators reſigned their office. Æmilius, having ordered the former Conſuls, Cn. Servilius, and M. Regulus, who had ſucceeded to that dignity, after the death of Flaminius, to take upon them the entire command of the army in the field, in quality of his Lieutenants, remained ſtill at Rome, to deliberate with the Senate on the meaſures that were fit to be purſued, and to raiſe new levies. And when he had enrolled the numbers that were neceſſary to complete the legions, he ſent them to the army; with an expreſs order to Servilius, that he ſhould by no means venture on a general action; but ſhould from time to time engage the Carthaginians in ſuch ſharp and frequent ſkirmiſhes, as might ſerve to exerciſe the ſtrength, and raiſe the courage, of his troops, and by degrees prepare them for a deciſive battle. For it was now judged to have been the chief and only cauſe, of all the loſſes which hitherto the Romans had ſuſtained, that their battles had been fought by new-raiſed levies, undiſciplined, and without experience. At the ſame time alſo, the Prætor L. Poſthumius was ſent with a legion into Gaul: to make a diverſion there, and force the Gauls that were with Annibal to return and defend their country. The fleet, that had remained during the

the winter in the port of Lilybæum, was brought back to Rome. The Generals that were in Spain were ſupplied with every kind of ſtores. And in a word, whatever preparations were judged neceſſary for the war, were all completed with the greateſt diligence and care.

Servilius punctually obſerved the orders of the Conſul, and engaged only in ſome ſlight and ſeparate ſkirmiſhes, which we ſhall not now particularly deſcribe. For though many of theſe little combats were very ſharp as well as frequent, and were conducted by the Roman Generals with great ſkill and courage, yet both by reaſon of theſe orders, and from the circumſtances alſo of the times, no action happened, that was of great importance, or in any manner general or deciſive.

In theſe camps, oppoſite, and in ſight of each other, both armies thus remained, during the whole Winter, and the following Spring. But when the time of harveſt drew near, Annibal, having left his camp before Gerunium, went and poſſeſſed himſelf of the Citadel of Cannæ; hoping that by this means he ſhould at laſt be able to force the enemy to a battle. For the Romans had brought together to this place all the corn and other ſtores, which they had collected in the diſtrict of Canuſium: and from hence their army conſtantly was ſupplied with neceſſaries. The town had been deſtroyed ſome time before. But as the Citadel remained, and fell now into the hands of the Carthaginians with all the ſtores, the Romans were thrown at once into the greateſt difficulties. For they not only were deprived of their ſupplies; but ſuch alſo was the ſituation of this poſt, that it commanded all the neighbouring country. The Generals therefore ſent meſſenger after meſſenger to Rome; deſiring earneſtly to be informed, in what manner they ſhould act in this conjuncture: ſince it was now no longer poſſible to decline a battle, in caſe that they ſhould approach any nearer to the enemy. For the

country was all waſted and conſumed: and the allies were fixed in expectation, and waited with impatience for the event. The opinion of the Senate was, that they ſhould venture on a battle. But they adviſed Servilius, to delay it yet for ſome time longer: and gave orders, that the Conſuls ſhould leave the city, and haſten to the camp. For all men now had turned their eyes towards Æmilius: who, as well by reaſon of the conſtant probity of his life and manners, as on account alſo of the great ſervices which his country had received ſome time before, from his brave and ſkilful management of the war againſt the Illyrians, was judged moſt capable to ſatisfy their fulleſt expectations, in this dangerous and critical conjuncture. It was ordered likewiſe, that the army ſhould conſiſt of eight legions; a thing, never known before in any of their wars; and that each legion ſhould contain five thouſand men, beſides the allies. For the conſtant cuſtom of the Romans, as we have already mentioned, was to raiſe four legions only; and to allow to each, four thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe. In caſe that they were preſſed by any great and unuſual danger, they then increaſed the number to five thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe. The infantry of the allies was the ſame in number with that of the legions: but their Cavalry three times as many. Of theſe forces, one half of the allies and two legions, were allotted ſeparately to each Conſul; who was then ſent to proſecute the war apart, in his own proper province. Thus their battles had been always fought by a ſingle Conſul, with two legions only, and an equal proportion of the allies. For it had very rarely happened, that all the forces were employed together in any ſingle expedition. But now, their apprehenſions were ſo great, that they reſolved to ſend, not four, but eight legions, at once, into the field. They repreſented alſo to Æmilius, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the happy conſequences that muſt attend a victory,

a victory, and on the other hand, the ruin that could ſcarcely fail to follow his defeat: and exhorted him to chooſe his time for action with ſuch ſkill and judgment, as might give at once a final iſſue to the war, in a manner worthy of his own great character, and of the dignity of the Roman name.

As ſoon as the Conſuls arrived in the camp, they called the troops together; informed them of the reſolutions of the Senate; and employed all the exhortations that were ſuited to the preſent circumſtances. Æmilius chiefly, who was himſelf very deeply affected with the diſtreſſes of his country, addreſſed the ſoldiers in the moſt earneſt and pathetick manner. He explained to them the cauſes of the late defeats; and endeavoured to diſſipate the fears, which the remembrance of them had impreſſed upon the minds of all the army. He told them, that it was eaſy to aſſign, not one, but many cauſes of the ill ſucceſs, that had attended them in all their former combats: but that at this time, nothing, but the want of reſolution, could deprive them of the victory. That hitherto, they had never been engaged, with both Conſuls together at their head. That the ſoldiers likewiſe were all new-raiſed levies: unuſed to the ſight of danger, and unpractiſed in the art of war: and, which was ſtill a circumſtance of greater moment, that they were ſo far from being acquainted with the condition of the forces that oppoſed them, that on the contrary, they were hurried to the fight, before they had even ſo much as ſeen the enemy. For the troops that were defeated near the river Trebia, arrived one day from Sicily, and early on the next were drawn out in battle. And thoſe that fell afterwards in the fight of Thraſymene, had not only never ſeen their enemies before the combat, but were prevented alſo, by the miſt, from ſeeing them even in the time of the engagement. "But now, Romans, continued he, you ſee that all things bear a different face. You have now both Conſuls together

at your head; ready to divide all danger with you. And even the Conſuls alſo of the former year have conſented to remain, and to bear their part in the approaching battle. You are now acquainted with the numbers of the enemy; the manner in which their troops are armed; and their diſpoſition in the field. And during the courſe of two whole years, ſcarce a ſingle day has paſſed, in which you have not tried your ſtrength againſt them. Since therefore every circumſtance is ſo different from thoſe that were found in all your paſt engagements, the event muſt be alſo different. For how improbable, or rather how impoſſible a thing muſt it be thought, that troops, which have returned ſo often with ſucceſs from little combats againſt equal forces, ſhould now fail, with more than double numbers, to obtain the victory in a general battle? Since then, Romans, all things afford ſuch ſtrong aſſurances of ſucceſs, nothing now is wanting, but that yourſelves in earneſt reſolve to conquer. But this ſurely is a point, on which there is no need that I ſhould much enlarge. If I were ſpeaking indeed to mercenary ſoldiers, or to an army of allies, engaged in the defence of ſome neighbouring State, this kind of exhortation might perhaps be neceſſary. For the worſt that can befall ſuch troops, is the danger to which they are expoſed during the time of action: ſince they have ſcarcely any thing, either to apprehend, or hope, from the iſſue of it. But with you, who are prepared to fight, not for the defence of others, but for the ſafety of yourſelves, your country, wives, and children, the conſequences of the battle will be of far greater moment, than all the dangers that are now before you. Reflect but for a moment only on thoſe conſequences; and ſuch reflection, if I judge aright, will fully ſupply the place of the moſt pathetick exhortations. For who is there among you, that is not fixed already in his choice, to conquer if it be poſſible; and if not, to die; rather than behold the things

things that are deareſt to him, expoſed to inſult and deſtruction? Turn your views forward therefore to the event: and conſider on the one hand the advantages, and on the other, the dreadful ruin that may poſſibly enſue. Remember, Romans, that the battle is not to decide upon the fortune of theſe legions only, but on that of the whole republick. For in caſe that you are now defeated, Rome can no longer ſtand againſt the enemy. Her whole ſtrength and ſpirit, the fruits of all her pains, and the grounds of all her hopes, are now bound together and collected in your ſingle army. Let your efforts then be ſuch, as may fully anſwer all her expectations. Shew yourſelves the grateful children of your country: and make it manifeſt to all mankind, that the loſſes, which the Romans have hitherto ſuſtained, are by no means to be aſcribed to any ſuperior force or courage in their enemies; but to the circumſtances only of the times, and the want of experience in the troops that were engaged." After this harangue, Æmilius diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

On the following day, the Conſuls began their march, and advanced towards the enemy: and on the ſecond day, they incamped at the diſtance of about fifty ſtadia only from the Carthaginians. But as the country was all plain and open, and the enemy ſuperior in their Cavalry, Æmilius was perſuaded that it would be ſtill moſt prudent to decline a battle, till they had drawn the Carthaginians to ſome other ground, in which the infantry might bear the chief part in the engagement. But Varro, ignorant, and unſkilled in war, was fixed in different ſentiments. And from hence aroſe ill humour, and diſſenſion, between the Generals: a thing, the moſt pernicious, that can happen in an army. The Roman cuſtom was, that when both Conſuls were together in the field, they ſhould command alternately, day by day. On the next day therefore, when Varro commanded in his turn, he ordered the

army

army to decamp; and, unmoved by all the intreaties of his Collegue, reſolved to approach yet nearer to the enemy. Annibal, informed of his deſign, advanced to meet him with his Cavalry and the light-armed forces; and falling ſuddenly upon the Romans as they marched, threw them into great diſorder. But the Conſul, having placed ſome of the heavy troops in front, to ſuſtain the fury of the firſt attack, led afterwards to the charge his Cavalry and light-armed Foot; and inſerted among them alſo ſome cohorts of the legions. This precaution turned the victory entirely to his ſide againſt the enemy, who were deſtitute of the like ſupport. But the night, which now came on, forced the combatants on both ſides to retire: when the iſſue of the action had proved in all points contrary to that which the Carthaginians had expected from it.

On the following day, Æmilius, who ſtill was earneſt to decline a battle, but ſaw that it was now impoſſible to retreat with ſafety, incamped with two thirds of all the forces, along the Aufidus; the only river that flows through the Apennine. For this chain of mountains ſeparates all the other ſtreams of Italy: of which, one part are diſcharged into the Adriatic, and the reſt into the Tyrrhenian ſea. But the Aufidus takes its ſources on the ſide of the Tyrrhenian ſea; paſſes through the Apennine; and falls at laſt into the Adriatic Gulph. The remaining third part of the army were ordered by Æmilius to paſs the river; to advance up the ſtream; and there to lie intrenched; at the diſtance of about ten ſtadia from his own camp, and not much farther from that of the enemy. His intention was to employ theſe forces, as well to cover and ſupport his own foragers, as to harraſs thoſe of the Carthaginians.

But Annibal, perceiving that all things tended faſt towards a general battle, thought it neceſſary, that he ſhould firſt endeavour

deavour to raiſe again the courage of his army; which ſeemed to have been in ſome degree depreſſed, by the loſs which they had ſuſtained in the late engagement. He therefore aſſembled all the troops together; and having commanded them to caſt their eyes upon the country round, "Tell me, ſoldiers, ſaid he, if the Gods had left it to your choice, could you have formed any greater wiſh, ſuperior as you are in Cavalry to the enemy, than to contend with them upon ſuch a ground, for a victory that muſt decide the war?" The army all cried out, and the thing indeed was manifeſt, that they could not have deſired any greater advantage. "Pay your thanks then, continued he, in the firſt place to the Gods, who have ſecured the victory in your hands, by leading your enemies into ſuch a country; and afterwards, to me your General, who have forced them to the neceſſity of fighting. For, how great ſoever our advantages are againſt them, they have now no means left to decline a battle. For your part, there is ſurely little need, that I ſhould now exhort you to perform your duty with bravery and ſpirit. Before you had ever tried your ſtrength againſt the Romans, ſuch diſcourſes might perhaps be ſeaſonable: and in that perſuaſion, I endeavoured frequently to raiſe and animate your hopes, not by exhortation only, but by examples likewiſe. But now, ſince you have gained againſt them the moſt perfect victory in three ſucceſſive battles, what words can I employ, to excite any greater confidence than that which the remembrance of your own actions muſt inſpire? By your former combats, you gained poſſeſſion of the open country: for ſuch was the aſſurance which I had given you; and the event confirmed my promiſe. But now I offer to your hopes the towns and cities of your enemies; with all the treaſures that they contain. Be victorious only in this ſingle battle, and all Italy will be ready to receive your laws. Your labours and your toils will then all be ended. The wealth and power of the

the Romans will become your own; and render you the undiſputed ſovereigns of the world. Let us haſten then to action; and, with the aſſiſtance of the Gods, I will again make good my promiſe to you." This harangue was received by all the army with the loudeſt acclamations. Annibal having applauded their good diſpoſition, diſmiſſed the aſſembly; and went ſoon afterwards and incamped very near to the enemy, on that ſide of the river, upon which the greater camp of the Romans lay.

On the following day, he gave orders that the troops ſhould take the neceſſary refreſhment and repoſe, and make all things ready for the combat. And on the third day, he drew out all his forces, and ranged them in order of battle, in ſight of the enemy, along the bank of the river. But Æmilius, ſenſible of the diſadvantage of the ground, and knowing alſo, that the want of proviſions would ſoon force the Carthaginians to decamp, reſolved not to move from his intrenchments; and made only ſuch a diſpoſition of his forces, as was neceſſary to ſecure both camps from inſult. Annibal therefore, when he had for ſome time kept the field, led the reſt of his army back again to their intrenchments; but ſent away the Numidian Horſe, to fall upon the Romans of the little camp, who were employed in fetching water from the river. The boldneſs of theſe troops, who advanced even cloſe to the intrenchments, raiſed Varro's indignation beyond all bounds. The ſoldiers alſo ſhewed the greateſt eagerneſs and impatience to engage: and could ſcarcely bear, that the battle ſhould any longer be deferred. For when men are once firmly fixed in their determination, to force their way through the greateſt dangers to the end which they have in view, every moment of delay is a burthen that can hardly be ſupported.

When it was known at Rome, that the armies were incamped in ſight, and that frequent ſkirmiſhes happened

every

every day between them, the whole city was filled with agitation and concern. For the people were ſtill ſo much dejected by the remembrance of the former loſſes, that they ſeemed now to apprehend the worſt that could befal them, and to anticipate in their minds all the fatal conſequences of an entire defeat. The oracles of their ſacred books were repeated in every mouth. Every temple, and every houſe, was filled with prodigies and portents: which gave occaſion to innumerable vows, and prayers, and ſupplicatory ſacrifices. For in times of danger or diſtreſs, the Romans take unwearied pains, to appeaſe the wrath of Gods and men: and think nothing ſordid or diſhonourable, that is employed in that deſign.

On the following day, when the command had fallen in turn to Varro, this General put all the troops in motion by break of day. He ordered thoſe of the greater camp to paſs the river; and as they gained the other ſide, drew them up in order of battle; joining alſo to them, in the ſame line, the troops of the little camp. Their faces were all turned towards the South. He placed the Roman Cavalry on the right Wing, cloſe upon the river: and next to theſe, the Infantry, extended in one ſingle line. But the cohorts were drawn up behind each other in much cloſer order than was uſual among the Romans; and their files ſo doubled, as to give to the whole line a greater depth. The Cavalry of the allies cloſed the line upon the left. And at ſome diſtance, in the front of all the army, ſtood the light-armed troops. The whole number of the forces, with the allies included, were eighty thouſand Foot; and ſomewhat more than ſix thouſand Horſe.

At the ſame time Annibal, having firſt ſent over the Baleario ſlingers and the light-armed troops, to take their poſt in front, paſſed the river in two places with the reſt of the army,

and ranged them in order of battle. The Spaniſh and Gallic Horſe were poſted on the left; cloſe upon the bank of the River; and oppoſite to the Roman Cavalry. Next to theſe, upon the ſame line, he placed firſt one half of the heavy-armed Africans; then the Gauls and Spaniards; after theſe, the reſt of the Africans; and cloſed his whole line upon the right, with the Numidian Cavalry. When he had thus ranged all his forces in one ſingle line, he advanced towards the enemy, being followed only by the Gauls and Spaniards of the Centre. Thus he detached theſe troops from the line in which they had ſtood together with the reſt; and, as he advanced, he formed them alſo into the figure of a Creſcent: at the ſame time ſpreading wide their ranks, and leaving to this Figure but a very inconſiderable depth. His intention was, to begin the action with the Gauls and Spaniards: and to ſupport it afterwards by the Africans. The Africans were armed after the Roman manner, from the ſpoils that had been taken in the former battles. The Gauls and Spaniards wore the ſame kind of buckler; but their ſwords were different. For thoſe of the latter were formed, as well to puſh with as to ſtrike; whereas the Gauls could only uſe their ſwords to make a falling ſtroke, and at a certain diſtance. Theſe troops were ranged together in alternate cohorts: and as the Gauls were naked, and the Spaniards all clothed with veſts of linen bordered with purple, after the faſhion of their country, their appearance was both ſtrange and terrible. The Carthaginian Cavalry amounted in the whole to about ten thouſand: and the number of their Infantry was ſomewhat more than forty thouſand, with the Gauls included. The right of the Roman army was conducted by Æmilius; the left by Varro; and the Centre by Regulus and Servilius, the Conſuls of the former year. On the ſide of the Carthaginians, Aſdrubal had the care

care of the left; Hanno of the right; and Annibal himſelf, with his brother Mago, commanded in the Centre. Both armies were alike ſecure from being incommoded by the riſing ſun: for the one was turned towards the ſouth, as we have already mentioned, and the other towards the north.

The action was begun by the light-armed troops, that were poſted before the armies. In this firſt conflict, the ſucceſs was on both ſides equal. But when the Spaniſh and Gallic Cavalry, advancing from the left Wing of the Carthaginians, approached near the Romans, the conteſt, that enſued between them, was then indeed moſt warm and vehement; and ſuch as reſembled rather the combats of barbarians, than a battle fought by diſciplined and experienced troops. For inſtead of falling back, and returning again often to the charge, as the cuſtom was in ſuch engagements, they were now ſcarcely joined, when, leaping from their horſes, each man ſeized his enemy. But after ſome time, the victory turned wholly to the ſide of the Carthaginians. The greater part of the Romans were deſtroyed in the place, after a moſt brave and obſtinate contention: and the reſt, being cloſely followed, as they fled along the river, were all ſlaughtered likewiſe, without being able to obtain any mercy.

About the time when this combat was decided, the light-armed troops on both ſides retired back again to their reſpective armies, and the heavy Infantry advanced to action. The Gauls and Spaniards ſtood for ſome time firm againſt the enemy. But being at laſt forced to yield to the weight of the Roman legions, they retreated backwards, and thus opened the figure of the Creſcent, in which they had been formed. The Romans followed with alacrity and eagerneſs: and without much difficulty forced their way through the ranks of the enemy, which were looſe and thin; whereas themſelves on the

contrary had drawn away many cohorts from the Wings, to ſtrengthen their Centre, in which at this time all the ſtreſs of the battle lay. For the action was not begun by the whole line at once, but ſingly by the Centre: becauſe the Gauls and Spaniards, as they formed themſelves into the figure of a Creſcent, had advanced far beyond the Wings of their own army, and offered only the convex of the Creſcent to the enemy. The Romans therefore, ſtill puſhing forwards through the middle of theſe ranks, which ſtill gave way before them, were at laſt ſo far advanced within the Centre, that they ſaw on either ſide the heavy-armed Africans ſtand ready to incloſe them. Nor did theſe troops long neglect the occaſion, which of itſelf moſt clearly pointed out the meaſures, that were now proper to be taken. For turning ſuddenly, the one part of them from the right to the left, and the other from the left to the right, they fell with fury upon both flanks of the Romans. And thus the event happened, which Annibal chiefly had in view. For this General had foreſeen, that the Romans, in purſuing the Gauls and Spaniards, muſt at laſt inevitably be incloſed between the Africans. By this means they were now forced to break their Phalanx; and to defend themſelves, either ſingly, or in ſeparate parties, againſt the enemies that were attacking them in flank.

Æmilius, who at firſt was poſted on the right, and had eſcaped from the general ſlaughter of the Roman Cavalry, perceiving that the fortune of the battle was now to be decided by the Infantry alone, and being earneſtly ſollicitous, that his actions ſhould in no reſpect fall ſhort of thoſe aſſurances, which he had given when he harangued the army, drove his horſe into the very middle of the combatants; killing and diſperſing every thing in his way; and employing all his efforts, to animate the ſoldiers that were near him. Annibal did the

ſame

ſame on his part: for he had remained ſtill in the Centre from the beginning of the engagement.

The Numidians of the right Wing had charged the Cavalry of the allies upon the left. And though, by reaſon of their peculiar way of fighting, no great loſs was ſuſtained on either ſide, yet as they ſtill from time to time returned again to the attack, they by that means held thoſe troops ſo conſtantly employed, that they had no leiſure to aſſiſt the reſt. But when the Cavalry of the left, that was led by Aſdrubal, and which now had finiſhed the deſtruction of almoſt all the Roman Cavalry that fled along the river, came round and joined the Numidians, the Cavalry of the allies were at once ſeized with terror, and, not waiting to receive the charge, immediately turned their backs and fled. Upon this occaſion, Aſdrubal bethought himſelf of an expedient, which indeed denoted his great prudence, and his ſkill in war. Obſerving that the Numidians were conſiderable in their numbers; and knowing alſo, that theſe troops were then moſt terrible, whenever they were engaged againſt a flying enemy; he ordered them to purſue thoſe that fled; and at the ſame time led his own Cavalry to the aſſiſtance of the African Infantry. He fell upon the Roman legions, in their rear; and having divided his Cavalry into little troops, ſent them into the midſt of the action, in many different parts at once. By this wiſe meaſure, he gave new ſtrength and courage to the Africans; while the Romans on the contrary began to loſe all hope. It was at this time, that Æmilius fell, oppreſſed with wounds; and that life, which had on all occaſions been devoted to the ſervice of his country, was now loſt in its defence. The Romans, though ſurrounded thus on every ſide, turned their faces to the enemy, and reſiſted yet for ſome time longer. But as the troops on the outſide fell, their body by degrees was more and more diminiſhed;

diminiſhed; till at laſt they were preſſed together within a very narrow ſpace, and were there all deſtroyed. Among them fell Regulus and Servilius, the Conſuls of the former year; both eminent for their virtue; and whoſe behaviour in the action was ſuch as ſhewed them to be worthy of the name of Romans.

During the time of all this ſlaughter, the Numidians, purſuing the Cavalry of the left, who fled before them, killed the greateſt part, and threw many from their horſes. A ſmall number only eſcaped ſafe to Venuſia; among whom was Varro, that baſe and worthleſs Conſul, whoſe government proved ſo pernicious to his country.

Such was the battle of Cannæ: in which, both ſides long contended for the victory with the greateſt bravery. Of this the action itſelf affords the cleareſt proof. For of ſix thouſand Horſe, which was the whole Cavalry of the Roman army, ſeventy only fled with Varro to Venuſia; and three hundred more of the allies eſcaped to different cities. Of the Infantry, ten thouſand men indeed were taken priſoners; but theſe had no part in the action. And about three thouſand alſo found means to eſcape to ſome of the cities that were near. But the reſt, to the amount of ſeventy thouſand men, all died with honour in the field of battle.

The Carthaginians upon this occaſion, as in all the former battles, were indebted chiefly for their victory to the numbers of their Cavalry. And from hence ſucceeding ages may be able clearly to perceive, that, in time of war, it is far more advantageous, to have a great ſuperiority of Cavalry, with no more than half the Infantry, than an army, that is in all parts equal to the enemy. On the ſide of Annibal were ſlain four thouſand Gauls; fifteen hundred Africans and Spaniards; with about two hundred Horſe.

The Romans that were taken priſoners had no part in the action, as we have juſt now mentioned. For Æmilius had left behind him in the camp ten thouſand of the Infantry; having conſidered with himſelf, that if the Carthaginians ſhould draw out all their forces to the battle, theſe troops might fall upon their camp during the time of the engagement, and make themſelves maſters of the baggage; and on the other hand, if Annibal, in apprehenſion of this danger, ſhould ſend a detachment from his army to guard the camp, that the numbers of the enemy would then be leſſened in the field. They were taken priſoners in the following manner. As ſoon as the action was begun, they advanced to force the intrenchments; which Annibal however had left ſtrongly guarded. The Carthaginians ſtood for ſome time firm, and repelled the efforts of the enemy: but were at laſt ſo preſſed, that they were ſcarcely able any longer to maintain their poſt. But when the battle was now in every part completely ended, Annibal, having brought ſome troops to their aſſiſtance, drove back the Romans, and inveſted them in their own camp. Two thouſand of them were killed, and the reſt made priſoners. About two hundred alſo of the routed Cavalry, who had ſaved themſelves in ſome of the fortreſſes of the country, were inveſted by the Numidians in the poſts into which they had retired, and were brought away priſoners to the camp.

The immediate conſequences of this victory were ſuch as both ſides had expected from it. The Carthaginians became at once the maſters of the whole ſea coaſt, and of that part of Italy which was called Great Greece. The Tarentines ſurrendered without delay. The Argyripians, with ſome of the cities alſo of Campania, ſent offers of ſubmiſſion. And in a word, all the neighbouring people began now to turn their eyes

eyes towards the Carthaginians: who on their part were perſuaded, that they ſhould take even Rome itſelf, upon their firſt approach. The Romans, on the other hand, not only renounced all hopes of being able any longer to retain the ſovereignty of Italy; but were filled alſo with the greateſt apprehenſions, with regard even to the ſafety of themſelves, and their own proper country; expecting that the Carthaginians inſtantly would arrive, to finiſh their deſtruction. And as if fate itſelf had taken unuſual pains to fill up the meaſure of their misfortunes, and had joined with their enemies againſt them, it happened, that not many days after this defeat, while the conſternation ſtill was freſh, the news came to Rome, that the Prætor, that was ſent into Gaul, had fallen into an ambuſcade, and was deſtroyed with all his army.

In the midſt however of theſe calamities, the Senate had recourſe to every meaſure that was practicable, in order to preſerve their country. They harangued the people, and raiſed their drooping courage: they provided all things that were neceſſary for the ſecurity of the city: and purſued their deliberations with the greateſt firmneſs: as it appeared indeed not long afterwards in the event. For though the Romans were now plainly conquered and depreſſed, and forced to yield to their enemies the whole honour of the war; yet, through the prudence of their counſels, and the inherent excellence of their government, they not only drove the Carthaginians out of Italy, and again recovered the ſovereignty of that country; but within a ſhort time afterwards reduced beneath their yoke even the whole habitable world. Upon this account, having now finiſhed the relation of all that paſſed in Italy and Spain, during the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, as ſoon as I ſhall have gone through the affairs of Greece,

Greece, that were tranſacted likewiſe within the courſe of the ſame period, I ſhall then treat expreſsly of the form and conſtitution of the Roman Republick. For as the Subject is itſelf by no means foreign to the nature and deſign of Hiſtory; ſo I am perſuaded alſo, that thoſe eſpecially, who are employed in the affairs of government, will find in it many things that may be highly uſeful, both in eſtabliſhing, and reforming States.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF POLYBIUS.

BOOK the Fourth. CHAP. I.

WE ſhewed, in the preceding Book, what were the cauſes of the ſecond War between the Carthaginians and Romans, and what the manner, in which Annibal entered Italy; and recounted alſo the ſeveral combats that enſued, to the battle that was fought at laſt near the city of Cannæ, upon the river Aufidus. We now go on to deſcribe the affairs of Greece, that were tranſacted during the ſame period, and in the courſe of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad: but ſhall firſt in few words remind the reader of the things that were mentioned by us on the ſubject of this country in the ſecond of our Introductory Books, and more eſpecially of that which we there related concerning the fortunes and condition of the Achæan Republick; becauſe this State, within the compaſs of our own times, and of thoſe which immediately preceded, has grown to a very amazing height of ſtrength and greatneſs.

Beginning then from Tiſamenes, one of the children of Oreſtes, we remarked, that the deſcendants of that Prince reigned after him in Achaia, in direct ſucceſſion down to Ogyges. That afterwards, the Achæans changed their government to a Democracy, which was inſtituted with great ſkill and wiſdom: and that this eſtabliſhment was broken by the Arts of the Kings of Macedon, and the people all diſperſed into ſeparate and independent towns and villages. We then ſhewed the time and manner, in which they began again to unite together; and what were the cities, which aſſociated themſelves the firſt into the new Confederacy. We alſo explained at large the meaſures that were employed, and the motives that were uſed, to draw the other cities to this union; and to engage by degrees the whole people of Peloponneſus, to embrace the ſame common appellation, the ſame laws, and the ſame ſingle government. After this general view of the deſign, we then related in their order, though in few words, the chief tranſactions that ſucceeded, to the final overthrow and flight of Cleomenes, King of Lacedæmon. And having thus given a ſummary account, in the way of an Introduction to our Hiſtory, of the events that happened in the world, to the time in which Antigonus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, all died together, we then promiſed to go on to the commencement of our Hiſtory; and to begin with thoſe tranſactions, that were the next in order to the deaths of thoſe three Princes, and to the events which we had laſt related.

This period ſeemed to be on many accounts the beſt that I could chooſe, for the beginning of my Work. For firſt, as the Memoirs of Aratus are here concluded, that which I ſhall now relate concerning the affairs of Greece, may be conſidered as a regular and cloſe continuation of his Hiſtory. In the next place, the times which now ſucceed, and which fall within the limits of this Work, are in part the very times in which

which we ourſelves have lived, and partly thoſe of our immediate anceſtors. And from hence it happens, that the things which I have undertaken to deſcribe, are either thoſe which I myſelf have ſeen, or ſuch as I have received from men that were eye-witneſſes of them. For in caſe that I had gone back to a more early period, and borrowed my accounts from the report of perſons, who themſelves had only heard them before from others, as it would ſcarcely have been poſſible that I ſhould myſelf be able to diſcern the true ſtate of the things that were then tranſacted, ſo neither could I have written any thing concerning them with ſufficient confidence. Another, and indeed the ſtrongeſt motive, by which I was inclined to chooſe this Æra, was, that about this time Fortune had entirely changed the face of things, in all the countries of the world at once. For it was now that Philip the ſon of Demetrius, before he had arrived at perfect age, took poſſeſſion of the Macedonian kingdom: and that Achæus, who was ſent to govern the country on this ſide of mount Taurus, aſſumed the rank and power of a ſovereign Prince. At the ſame time it happened, that Antiochus ſurnamed the Great, who was alſo extremely young, was raiſed to the throne of Syria, in the place of his brother Seleucus, who had died not long before: that Ariarathes obtained the ſovereignty of Cappadocia; and Ptolemy Philopator that of Ægypt: that Lycurgus was elected King of Lacedæmon: and laſtly, that Annibal was inveſted by the Carthaginians with the command of their armies, and the government of the affairs of Spain, as we have before related.

Thus then as the ſupreme dominion had fallen, in every State, into the hands of new kings and maſters, it was reaſonable to expect, that a change ſo general muſt give birth to new commotions. For this naturally happens in ſuch circumſtances: nor did it fail now to happen. The Carthaginians

and

and the Romans were ſoon engaged in the war which we have already in part deſcribed. At the ſame time, Antiochus and Ptolemy contended together for the ſovereignty of Cœleſyria. And Philip alſo, in conjunction with the Achæans, turned his arms againſt the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians. The cauſes of this laſt war were thoſe which I am now going to relate.

The Ætolians had been long diſſatisfied, that they were forced to live in peace, and at their own expence; accuſtomed, as they had always been, to ſubſiſt upon the plunder of their neighbours, and ſlaves by nature to an uncontrouled and reſtleſs appetite, which both multiplied their wants, and urged them on to rapine, as the only means by which they could be gratified; ſo that they lived the life of wild beaſts of prey, invading every thing within their reach, and making no diſtinction between friends and enemies. During the life-time however of Antigonus, their apprehenſion of the Macedonians kept them quiet. But no ſooner was this Prince dead, than, deſpiſing the tender age of Philip who ſucceeded, they began earneſtly to ſeek for ſome pretence, upon which they might enter Peloponneſus with an army. For as this province had in former times been the uſual ſcene of all their violence and rapine, ſo they were perſuaded, that their ſtrength in arms was far ſuperior alſo to that of the Achæans. While they were revolving this project in their minds, chance itſelf conſpired with their deſign, and ſupplied the following means to carry it into execution.

A certain young man named Dorimachus, full of the fire and eager ſpirit of his country, a native of Trichonion, and the ſon of that Nicoſtratus, who, in defiance of the laws of nations, attacked the Bœotians by ſurprize, when they were met together in their General Aſſembly, was about this time ſent in the name of the Republick to Phigalea, a city of Pelo-

ponneſus, which ſtood upon the confines of Meſſenia, and was aſſociated to the Ætolian government: to ſecure, as it was then pretended, the city and the neighbouring diſtrict. But the true deſign of his commiſſion was, that he ſhould carefully attend to all that paſſed in Peloponneſus. During the time of his continuance in this city, being preſſed by the importunity of ſome Pirates who reſorted to him, and not able to ſupply them with the means of any lawful plunder, becauſe the general peace was ſtill ſubſiſting, which Antigonus had eſtabliſhed throughout all Greece, he at laſt permitted them to ſteal away the cattle of the Meſſenians, who were at that time the allies and friends of his own Republick. Theſe men at firſt confined their robberies to the extreme borders of the province, and to the herds of cattle that were found in paſture there. But in a ſhort time afterwards, their inſolence was raiſed to ſo great a height, that they advanced far within the country, and forced their entrance into the houſes likewiſe; making their attack by night, when the people were under no ſuſpicion, or fear of danger. The Meſſenians, incenſed by theſe proceedings, deputed ſome perſons to Dorimachus, to demand redreſs. Dorimachus, who was by no means willing to condemn a practice which not only enriched the men that were acting under his authority, but brought great advantage alſo to himſelf, who received a due proportion of all the booty that was taken, for ſome time paid no regard to theſe remonſtrances. But when the outrages were ſtill continued, and the deputations alſo became more frequent than before, he at laſt declared, that he would go in perſon to Meſſene, and there render publick juſtice to thoſe that had any cauſe of complaint againſt the Ætolians. But when he arrived in that city, and the men that had been injured appeared before him, he treated ſome of them with the ſharpeſt ſcorn; others with rough diſdain and haughtineſs; and ſome with threatenings,

threatenings and reproaches. And even in the very time of his continuance there, the ſame band of robbers, approaching cloſe to the neighbourhood of the city, forced their way, with the help of ladders, into a houſe that was called the Farm of Chiron; killed all thoſe that oppoſed their entrance; and having bound the reſt in chains, carried them away, together with the cattle and the goods.

The Ephori of Meſſene, who before were very greatly incenſed, not only by the robberies that had been committed in their country, but ſtill more alſo by the preſence of Dorimachus, being now perſuaded that the groſſeſt inſult had been added to their wrongs, ſummoned him to appear before the magiſtrates. In this aſſembly, it was urged by Sciron, a man whoſe probity had placed him in high eſteem among the citizens, and who was one of the Ephori of the preſent year, that Dorimachus ſhould not be permitted to leave the city, till the plunder had been firſt reſtored, and the authors likewiſe of all the murthers that had been committed delivered up to publick puniſhment. The whole aſſembly ſeemed ready to aſſent to the juſtice of this propoſal: when Dorimachus, riſing full of rage, declared, "that they were fools to think that this affront was offered to himſelf alone, and not rather to the whole Republick of the Ætolians: that what they had now attempted was a thing ſo monſtrous, that they could not in reaſon but expect, that it muſt ſoon be followed by ſuch heavy vengeance, as would be felt through all their country."

There was at this time in Meſſene a man of baſe condition, named Babyrtas, who was ſtrongly attached to all the intereſts of Dorimachus, and who ſo perfectly reſembled him both in voice and features, that if he had at any time been dreſſed in his cap and habit, he might eaſily have been miſtaken for him; and this Dorimachus well knew. As he continued therefore

therefore to inſult the aſſembly with the ſame haughty language, Sciron, being unable to reſtrain his paſſion, at laſt cried out, "Thinkeſt thou then, Babyrtas, that we ſhall pay the leaſt regard either to thee, or thy inſolent threatenings?" Dorimachus then was ſilent; and, being forced to yield to the neceſſity that preſſed him, ſuffered the Meſſenians to exact full reparation for all their wrongs. But he returned back again to Ætolia, ſo deeply wounded by this abuſe, that, without any other kind of cauſe or pretext, he immediately employed all his pains to excite the war, which afterwards was made againſt the Meſſenians.

Ariſton was at this time Prætor of the Ætolians. But becauſe he was unable, through ſome bodily infirmities, to ſupport the fatigue of arms, and was alſo very nearly allied in blood to Dorimachus and Scopas, he left chiefly to the care of the laſt of theſe the whole adminiſtration of the government. Dorimachus would not venture to propoſe in publick to the Ætolians, that war ſhould be declared againſt the Meſſenians. For as there was no pretext for it that was worthy to be mentioned, it was manifeſt, that all men would conſider ſuch proceeding, as the mere effect of his own reſentment, on account of the affront which he had received from Sciron. Reſolving therefore to purſue a different method, he endeavoured ſecretly to prevail on Scopas to approve of his deſign, and to concert meaſures with him for attacking the Meſſenians. He repreſented to him, that by reaſon of the tender age of Philip, who was now no more than ſeventeen years old, they were perfectly ſecure on the ſide of Macedon: that the Lacedæmonians, in their ſentiments, were far from being inclined to favour the Meſſenians: and that, as the Eleans were bound by friendſhip and alliance to the Ætolians, their entrance into the Meſſenian territory would, on that account, be both ſafe and eaſy. He ſet alſo before his view, what was likely indeed to be of the

greateſt weight in the mind of an Ætolian, the rich and valuable booty, which they could ſcarcely fail to acquire from this invaſion; ſince the country was wholly unprepared to receive an enemy, and was alſo the only part of Peloponneſus, that had remained unpillaged during the time of the Cleomenic War. He added likewiſe, that ſuch an expedition would raiſe them high in the eſteem and favour of the Ætolians: that, if the Achæans ſhould attempt to oppoſe their paſſage through their territory, they could have no reaſon to complain, if force ſhould be repelled by force; and if on the other hand they remained inactive, there would then be nothing that could obſtruct their progreſs: and in the laſt place, that even with regard to the Meſſenians, ſome pretence might be alſo found for taking arms againſt them; ſince they had long ago embraced ſuch meaſures as were repugnant to the intereſts of the Ætolian government, when they engaged themſelves by treaty to aſſiſt the Macedonians and Achæans.

Theſe arguments and motives, with others of the ſame kind and purpoſe, made ſo deep and forcible an impreſſion on the minds of Scopas and his friends, that, not waiting to conſult the General Aſſembly of the Ætolians, not communicating their intentions to the Apocleti, or paying the leaſt regard to any other of the forms, which their Government, upon ſuch occaſions, required to be obſerved, following only the dictates of an impetuous paſſion, and guided by their own private judgement, they reſolved to make war at once upon the Meſſenians, the Epirots, Achæans, Acarnanians, and the Macedonians. They immediately ſent out ſome pirates upon the ſea, who forced a veſſel, which they met near the iſland Cythera, and which belonged to the king of Macedon, to return back with them to Ætolia, and there expoſed to ſale the ſhip, the paſſengers, and all the crew. After this exploit, they equipped ſome Cephallenian barks, and, ſailing along the

the ſhore of Epirus, pillaged all the coaſt. They attempted alſo to take Thyreum, a town of Acarnania, by ſurprize. And having at the ſame time ſent ſome troops, through private roads, into Peloponneſus, they made themſelves maſters of a fortreſs called Clerium, which ſtood in the very middle of the Megalopolitan territory. In this place, they expoſed their plunder to publick ſale; deſigning alſo to uſe the fortreſs as their citadel, from whence they might make incurſions into all the neighbouring country. But within ſome days afterwards, it was attacked and ſtormed by Timoxenus the Prætor of the Achæans, aſſiſted by Taurion the Macedonian General, who was left by Antigonus in Peloponneſus, to watch over the intereſts of the kings of Macedon in that country. For though Antigonus was poſſeſſed of Corinth, which was yielded to him in the beginning of the Cleomenic war, yet afterwards, when he had taken Orchomenus by ſtorm, inſtead of reſtoring it again to the Achæans, he choſe to retain that town likewiſe as his own: being willing, as I ſuppoſe, not only to be maſter of the entrance into Peloponneſus, but to be able alſo to controul the inland parts of the province, as occaſion ſhould require. With this deſign he had placed a garriſon in Orchomenus, and ſupplied it with all the neceſſary ſtores for war.

Dorimachus and Scopas, having waited till the time was come in which Timoxenus, the Prætor of the Achæans, was juſt ready to reſign his office, and when Aratus, who was appointed Prætor of the following year, had not yet entered upon the duties of his poſt, aſſembled all the Ætolians together at Rhium; and having provided the tranſports that were neceſſary, and equipped alſo the veſſels of the Cephallenians, they embarked their forces, and paſſing over into Peloponneſus, began their march towards Meſſenia, through the territory of the Patræans, the Pharæans, and Tritæans; pretending

ſtill as they advanced, that they had no deſign to commit hoſtilities againſt any of the Achæan States. But the troops, unable to reſtrain their natural appetite, plundered and deſtroyed every thing within their reach. And when they arrived at laſt near Phigalea, they from thence fell ſuddenly, and without reſerve, upon the lands of the Meſſenians; unmoved by the alliance, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between this people and their own Republick; and regardleſs alſo of all the common rights of men. For ſo ſtrong was their rapaciouſneſs, that every other conſideration was forced to fall before it. They waſted the country therefore at their leiſure, and found no reſiſtance: for the Meſſenians dared not to appear in arms againſt them.

CHAP. II.

IT was now the time, in which the Achæans uſually held a General Council of the States, according to their laws. As ſoon therefore as they were aſſembled together at Ægium, the Patræans and Pharæans recounted all the wrongs and violence, which they had received from the Ætolians as they paſſed through their territories. There were preſent alſo ſome deputies from the Meſſenians, who implored the aſſiſtance of the Republick, againſt an enemy that had thus attacked them in contempt of the moſt ſacred treaties. The injuries, which the former had ſuſtained, did not fail to excite a proper indignation in the whole aſſembly; as the ſufferings of the latter raiſed their pity. But that which appeared moſt inſolent and monſtrous, was, that the Ætolians, in violation of the treaties which even then ſubſiſted between the two Republicks, had dared to take their paſſage through Achaia with an army, without any leave obtained, without deigning even in any manner

manner to excuſe or juſtify the action. Incenſed therefore by all theſe circumſtances, they reſolved, that ſome aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent to the Meſſenians: that the Prætor ſhould aſſemble the Achæans together in arms: and that the meaſures which ſhould afterwards be directed, when the troops were thus aſſembled, ſhould all be ratified and legal.

Timoxenus, whoſe Prætorſhip was not yet fully expired, and who had no great confidence in the Achæans, becauſe they had lately much neglected all their military exerciſe, reſolved that he would bear no part in this intended expedition, and refuſed to draw together the troops. For from the time when Cleomenes received his laſt defeat, the people of Peloponneſus, exhauſted by paſt miſeries, and perſuaded alſo, that the peace which they now enjoyed would be of long continuance, had by degrees loſt all attention to the affairs of war. But Aratus, being enraged to ſee the daring inſolence of the Ætolians, and ſharpened likewiſe by the old reſentment which he long had entertained againſt that people, entered upon the buſineſs with much greater warmth; reſolved to arm the Achæans without delay; and was impatient to begin his march againſt the enemy. Having received therefore from Timoxenus the publick Seal, five days before his own adminiſtration was legally to begin, he ſent orders to the cities, that thoſe who were of proper age ſhould immediately appear in arms at Megalopolis.

But before we proceed, it may perhaps be uſeful to inform the reader in few words, what was the peculiar character of this Magiſtrate: eſpecially becauſe there was a certain ſingularity in his diſpoſition, which well deſerves to be remarked.

In general then, Aratus was poſſeſſed of all thoſe talents, which are required to make a conſummate leader of a State. His eloquence was perſuaſive; his reaſoning and diſcernment juſt;

juſt; and his meaſures conducted always with due ſecrecy and caution. In the art of ſoftening civil tumults and diſſenſions, in all the methods of gaining friends, and of fixing the affections of allies, he was excelled by none. Nor was he leſs to be admired, both on account of his dexterity in contriving ſnares and ſtratagems, to deceive and ſurprize the enemy, and for the boldneſs likewiſe and unwearied pains, with which he carried them into execution. His abilities indeed in this reſpect, though ſhewn in many other ſignal inſtances, cannot fail to appear in the moſt illuſtrious light, to thoſe that will examine with attention, the manner in which he made himſelf maſter of Sicyon and Mantinea; the meaſures which he employed to drive the Ætolians from Pellene; and above all, the ſecret management, by which he gained Acrocorinthus by ſurprize. But this ſame Aratus, when placed at the head of an army in the field, had neither capacity to form, nor courage to carry into execution, any projects: nor was he able to ſupport the ſight of danger. From hence it happened, that every part of Peloponneſus was filled with trophies, to record the battles that were gained againſt him: for at theſe times, he afforded always a moſt eaſy conqueſt to his enemies. Thus that variety, which is found from nature in the bodies of mankind, appears to be ſtill greater in their minds. Nor is it in thoſe things alone, which are different from each other, that men are ſeen to poſſeſs abilities very proper for the one, and ill-adapted to the other; but even in thoſe of ſimilar kind, the ſame man ſhall in ſome diſcover great wiſdom and diſcernment, and be found to want the talents that are requiſite for others; on ſome occaſions ſhall be brave and enterpriſing, but cold and cowardly upon others. Theſe things are not Paradoxes: but on the contrary, are known to happen every day; and are clearly underſtood by thoſe, who view the affairs of men with

due attention. There are ſome, who, in following the diverſions of the field, encounter boldly with the fierceſt beaſts; but baſely loſe all ſpirit, when they ſtand againſt an enemy in arms. Some again in battle, acquit themſelves with vigour and dexterity, in the way of ſingle combat: but when they are formed together into ranks with others, they are found to poſſeſs neither force nor courage. The ſhock of the Theſſalian Cavalry, advancing in cloſe order to the charge, is ſuch as can ſcarcely be ſuſtained. Yet theſe ſame troops, as often as they are forced to break their ranks, and engage man with man as place and circumſtances may require, loſe all their ſpirit and activity. The Ætolians are in both reſpects juſt contrary to theſe. The Cretans have at all times ſhewn no ſmall dexterity and ſkill, both upon land and ſea, in forming ambuſcades; in purſuing all the little arts of robbery and pillage; in concerting an attack by night; and, in a word, in all things that are conducted by ſurprize, and in ſeparate parties. But when they are drawn up in battle, and conſtrained to face the enemy in a ſet engagement, their hearts ſhrink back at once at the ſight of danger. The Achæans on the contrary, and the Macedonian troops, are ſerviceable only in regular and ſtated combats. But theſe examples are ſufficient for my preſent purpoſe; and may ſerve as a caution to the reader, not to call in queſtion my veracity or judgement, if at any time I ſhould be found hereafter, aſcribing to the ſame men oppoſite qualities, even in things of a like nature and reſemblance.

When the Achæans, in obedience to the decree that had been made, were all met in arms at Megalopolis, for from thence we began this laſt digreſſion, the Meſſenian deputies appeared again before the Aſſembly, and conjured them to revenge the wrongs which they had ſuſtained. They deſired likewiſe, and with no ſmall earneſtneſs, that they might be received into the general alliance, and be enrolled among the

other

other States. But the Chiefs of the Achæans refuſed to yield to this requeſt: declaring, that they had no power to admit any new confederates, without the conſent of Philip, and the reſt of the allies. For that joint Confederacy was ſtill ſubſiſting, which had been ſolemnly made and ratified in the time of the Cleomenic War, between the Achæans, and Epirots, the Phocæans, Macedonians, Bœotians, Acarnanians, and Theſſalians. They engaged however to aſſiſt them with their forces, on condition that thoſe Meſſenians, who then were preſent, would leave their ſons as hoſtages in Lacedæmon; that no peace might be concluded with the Ætolians, without the knowledge and conſent of the Achæans. The Lacedæmonians, who had alſo raiſed ſome forces, as being included in the general confederacy, advanced as far as to the borders of the Megalopolitan territory, and there incamped; deſigning rather to expect the event, and obſerve the motions of the reſt that were in arms, than to diſcharge their office as allies.

Aratus, having thus far accompliſhed his deſigns in favour of the Meſſenians, ſent ſome meſſengers to the Ætolians, to inform them of the decree that had been made, and to command them inſtantly to leave the Meſſenian territory, and not to enter Achaia, on pain of being oppoſed as enemies. When Scopas and Dorimachus had received the meſſage, and heard likewiſe that the Achæans were already met together in arms, they judged that, in the preſent circumſtances, it would be far moſt prudent to yield obedience to this order. Having therefore diſpatched ſome couriers to Cyllene, and to Ariſton the Ætolian Prætor, requeſting him to order all the tranſports that were then upon the coaſt to ſail away in haſte to the iſland Phlias, in two days afterwards they began their march, carrying with them all the booty, and directed their route towards Elea. For the Ætolians had been always careful to preſerve

preſerve a cloſe alliance with the Eleans; that through their means they might obtain a ſecure and eaſy paſſage into Peloponneſus, as often as they were inclined to invade that province. Aratus, having remained two days at Megalopolis, and ſuffering himſelf too eaſily to be perſuaded, that the Ætolians had in earneſt reſolved to leave the country, diſmiſſed the Lacedæmonians, and the greater part of the Achæans alſo, to their reſpective cities: and keeping only three thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe, together with the forces that were under the command of Taurion, he began his march towards Patræ, with deſign to follow the Ætolians at a moderate diſtance, during their retreat. When Dorimachus was informed that Aratus was marching cloſe behind, and attending to his motions, being partly apprehenſive, that the Achæans might fall upon him when he was juſt ready to embark, and take advantage of the diſorder which would then be ſpread among the troops, and partly deſirous alſo to obtain ſome fair occaſion to excite a war, he gave orders that the plunder ſhould immediately be conveyed under a ſufficient guard to Rhium, as if he had deſigned to embark from thence; and himſelf at firſt followed with all the forces, to ſupport the convoy. But after ſome time, he ſuddenly turned about, and directed his march back again towards Olympia. And being informed that Taurion and Aratus, with the forces juſt now mentioned, were at this time in the neighbourhood of Clitor, and judging alſo, that it would be ſcarcely poſſible to embark his troops at Rhium without the hazard of a battle, he reſolved to meet and engage the Achæans, while their forces not only were ſo inconſiderable in their numbers, but were void of all apprehenſion likewiſe of any ſuch attempt. For he had conſidered with himſelf, that in caſe he ſhould be able to defeat and diſperſe theſe troops, he might then waſte the country at his leiſure, and embark in full ſecurity, before

Aratus could take the meaſures that were neceſſary for aſſembling the Achæans again together: or on the other hand, if this Magiſtrate ſhould be ſtruck with terror, and refuſe to venture on a battle, that his retreat would then be both ſafe and eaſy, and might be made alſo at the time which himſelf ſhould judge to be the moſt convenient. With theſe ſentiments, he continued his march forwards, and incamped near Methydrium, in the Megalopolitan territory.

The Achæan Generals, when they received the news that the Ætolians were advancing faſt towards them, ſhewed in all their conduct ſo entire a want of ſkill and judgement, that no folly ever could exceed it. Leaving the neighbourhood of Clitor, they went and incamped near Caphyæ. And when the Ætolians, marching from Methydrium, had paſſed juſt beyond Orchomenus, they led out their forces, and ranged them in order of battle in the plain of Caphyæ, having in their front the river which ran through the plain. Before the river, there were many trenches alſo of conſiderable depth, and not eaſy to be paſſed. The Ætolians, when they had viewed theſe obſtacles which lay between them and the enemy, and ſaw likewiſe that the Achæans ſhewed no ſmall alacrity and impatience to engage, not daring to attack them in their poſt, as they had at firſt deſigned, marched away in cloſe order towards the hills; deſigning to retreat to Oligyrtus; and thinking it ſufficient, if they could now be able to retire, without being forced to riſk a battle. The foremoſt of their troops were already arrived upon the eminencies, and the Cavalry alſo, which cloſed the rear of all the army as they marched through the plain, had almoſt gained the hill called Propus, when Aratus ſent away his Cavalry and light-armed forces under the conduct of Epiſtratus, with orders, that they ſhould attack the rear, and endeavour to draw the enemy into action. But if this General had reſolved to venture on a battle,

battle, inſtead of falling upon the rear of the Ætolians, when the whole army had already paſſed the plain, he rather ſhould have charged the foremoſt of their troops, as ſoon as they began to enter it. For then, as the action would have paſſed upon a flat and level ground, the Ætolians muſt have laboured under many difficulties, on account both of their arms, and of the diſpoſition alſo of their troops: while the Achæans, on the contrary, who were armed, and ranged in battle, after a different manner, might have exerted all the force that was peculiar to them, and have fought with manifeſt advantage. But now, having firſt neglected both the place and time of action that were moſt ſuitable and proper for themſelves, they reſolved to begin the fight, when both were favourable to the enemy. The iſſue therefore of the battle was ſuch as might be well expected to reſult from ſo abſurd a conduct. As ſoon as the light-armed forces had begun to ſkirmiſh with the rear, the Ætolian Cavalry, keeping ſtill their ranks, puſhed on their way towards the hill that was before them, in order to join their Infantry. Aratus not diſcerning the true intention of this ſudden haſte, nor conſidering what it was that was likely now to follow, but being perſuaded that theſe troops already fled before him, ſent away ſome of his heavy Infantry, to ſupport the light-armed forces: and then turning all the army upon one of the Wings, he advanced with the greateſt ſpeed towards the enemy. The Ætolian Cavalry, having gained the extremity of the plain, took their poſt cloſe upon the foot of the hills, and drew together the Infantry on both ſides round them; recalling alſo thoſe that were upon their march, who ran back with great alacrity to their aſſiſtance. And when their numbers were ſufficient for the combat, they advanced with fury, and in the cloſeſt order, againſt the foremoſt ranks of the Achæan Cavalry, and light-armed troops. The action was for ſome time warm and obſtinate. But as the Ætolians were ſuperior in their numbers, and had begun

the attack from higher ground, the Achæans were at laſt compelled to fly. The heavy forces, that had been ſent to ſupport theſe troops, and who now arrived, in the ſame looſe and broken order in which they had marched, being in part unable to diſcern the truth of what had happened, and partly becauſe they were preſſed by thoſe that were retreating, were themſelves alſo forced to turn their backs, and accompany the others in their flight. And from hence it happened, that though five hundred only of the Achæans were at firſt defeated in the action, yet thoſe that now fled together were above two thouſand. The Ætolians ſeized the advantage, and purſued the enemy with the greateſt ardour, and with loud ſhouts and cries. The Achæans, imagining that the main body of their Infantry ſtill kept the advantageous ground in which they had left them in the beginning of the action, at firſt retired towards that place; ſo that their flight for ſome time appeared to be no diſhonourable means of ſafety. But when they ſaw that theſe troops alſo, having left their poſt, were advancing faſt towards them, but in a long and broken train; one part immediately fled different ways, towards the neighbouring cities; while the reſt, diſordered and confuſed, fell againſt this very Infantry as they approached, and ſpread ſuch conſternation among all the troops, that the rout then became complete, without any efforts of the enemy. The cities, as we have ſaid, afforded to many of them a ſecure retreat; eſpecially Orchomenus and Caphyæ, which were near. Without this advantage, the whole army would have been in the utmoſt danger of being all ſhamefully deſtroyed upon the place.

Such was the end of the battle that was fought near Caphyæ. The Megalopolitans, who had called together all their forces by ſound of trumpet, as ſoon as they heard that the Ætolians were incamped near Methydrium, arrived in the plain, on the very day following the action. But inſtead of finding

finding their friends alive, and joining their forces with them againſt the enemy, they had now nothing left, but to pay the laſt ſolemn duties to their bodies. Having collected together therefore the remains of theſe unhappy men, they buried them in the plain, with all due honours.

The Ætolians, when they had thus beyond all expectation gained the victory by their Cavalry alone and light-armed forces, continued their route through the very middle of Peloponneſus. And having, in their march, attempted to take by ſtorm the city of Pellene, and plundered likewiſe all the Sicyonian territory, they at laſt retired along the way of the Iſthmus.

Such were the tranſactions, which afforded both the cauſe and the pretext alſo of that which was called the Social War: and the beginning of it may be fixed from that Decree, which was made ſoon afterwards at Corinth, upon the motion and advice of Philip, in a general aſſembly of the Allies.

CHAP. III.

WHEN the Achæans, within a ſhort time after the late action, were met together to hold the uſual Council of the States, all the people in general, and every one apart, ſeemed greatly incenſed againſt Aratus; whoſe conduct was conſidered as the only cauſe of the misfortune that had happened to them. Thoſe therefore, who led the faction that oppoſed the intereſts of this Prætor, ſeized the occaſion, to inflame the multitude ſtill more againſt him; and charged him with ſuch heads of accuſation, as were indeed too clear to be refuted. For firſt, it was a manifeſt offence, that, before his own adminiſtration was begun, and while the ſupreme command was veſted in another, he had forwardly engaged in ſuch kind of enterprizes, in which, as himſelf well knew, he had before ſo often failed. A ſecond, and

and a greater fault was, that he had ſent the Achæans back again to their reſpective cities, while the Ætolians ſtill remained in the very heart of Peloponneſus: though it was clear from every thing that had been tranſacted, that Dorimachus and Scopas had reſolved to employ their utmoſt power, to create diſorders, and excite a war. They reproached him likewiſe, with having ventured on a battle, when he was preſſed by no neceſſity, and with forces that were ſo inconſiderable in their numbers: when on the contrary, he might have retired with ſafety to the neighbouring cities; and, when he had firſt drawn again together the troops that were diſmiſſed, might have marched to engage the enemy, if it ſhould then have been judged expedient. In the laſt place, it was urged againſt him, as a fault which merited not the leaſt indulgence, that when he had reſolved to riſk a general battle, he ſhewed ſo entire a want of ſkill and judgement in the conduct of it: and that, inſtead of taking advantage of the plain, and making a proper uſe of his heavy Infantry, he on the contrary began the combat at the very foot of the hills, and with his light-armed forces only; though theſe were circumſtances, which of all others were the moſt commodious for the enemy, and the beſt adapted to their arms and diſpoſition.

But notwithſtanding all the weight and importance of the charge, when Aratus ſtood up to ſpeak, and reminded the people of the many former ſervices, which his country had received from his adminiſtration; when he began to anſwer to the facts of which he was accuſed; affirming, that he was not the cauſe of the defeat; and conjuring them to excuſe any omiſſions or miſtakes, which had perhaps eſcaped him during the time of the action; and in general to ſurvey things, not with ſharpneſs and ſeverity, but with candour and indulgence; the whole Aſſembly made at once a generous effort in his favour, and, by a ſudden change of ſentiments,

ments, turned all their indignation upon the leaders of the faction that had formed the charge againſt him, and ſubmitted to his ſole advice and conduct the meaſures that were afterwards to be purſued.

Theſe things all belong to the hundred-thirty-ninth Olympiad. We now go on to the tranſactions of that which followed.

In this Aſſembly, the Achæans reſolved, that ſome deputies ſhould be ſent without delay to the Epirots, Bœotians, Phocæans, Acarnanians, and to Philip: to inform them of the manner in which the Ætolians had twice entered Achaia with an army, in direct breach of treaties; to demand the ſuccours, which, by the terms of the alliance, they were ſeverally engaged to furniſh; and to deſire, that the Meſſenians alſo might be admitted into the Confederacy. They ordered likewiſe, that the Prætor ſhould draw together an army of five thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, and march to the aſſiſtance of the Meſſenians, in caſe that their country ſhould be again invaded: and that he ſhould alſo regulate, with the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians, the number of the troops, both Infantry and Cavalry, which they ſhould ſeverally be obliged to furniſh, for the common ſervice. With ſuch firmneſs did the Achæans ſupport their loſs; and reſolved on no account to abandon the Meſſenians, or relinquiſh their firſt deſign. The Deputies made haſte to diſcharge their commiſſion to the ſeveral States. The Prætor levied troops among the Achæans, agreeably to the Decree. And the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians conſented each to raiſe two thouſand and five hundred Foot, and two hundred and fifty Horſe. Thus the whole army was to conſiſt of ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe.

The Ætolians on the other hand, as ſoon as they were aſſembled in their General Council, formed the project of entering

tering into a treaty of peace with the Lacedæmonians, the Meſſenians, and the reſt of the allies; deſigning, by this wicked and pernicious meaſure, to ſeparate them from the Achæans. At the ſame time they alſo made the following Decree. "That they would remain in peace with the Achæans, on condition that they would depart from their alliance with the Meſſenians; and, if this ſhould be refuſed, that they would immediately declare war againſt them." A proceeding ſurely the moſt abſurd, that can be well conceived. To be at the ſame time the allies both of the Meſſenians and Achæans; and yet to threaten the Achæans with a war, in caſe that they received the Meſſenians into their alliance, and on the other hand, to engage that they would remain in friendſhip with them, if they would regard that people as their enemies. But from hence it happened, that, by thus forming projects that were in the higheſt degree both ſenſeleſs and impracticable, they left to their injuſtice not the leaſt colour or ſupport from reaſon.

As ſoon as the Epirots and King Philip had received the deputation from the Achæans, they readily conſented, that the Meſſenians ſhould be admitted into the Confederacy. But with regard to the Ætolians, though at firſt indeed they were filled with ſome reſentment on account of the late tranſactions, yet, becauſe ſuch proceedings were perfectly conſiſtent with the manners and habitual practice of this people, as their ſurprize from what had happened was of ſhort continuance, ſo their indignation alſo ſoon ſubſided, and they reſolved, that they would ſtill remain in peace. So much more eaſily are men diſpoſed to pardon a long and continued courſe of wickedneſs and violence, than any new and unexpected inſtance of injuſtice. For it was now grown to be the common cuſtom of the Ætolians, to pillage continually all the parts of Greece, and to make war upon every State, without any previous declaration

claration of it. Nor would they at any time ſubmit to offer the leaſt excuſe, or vindication of their conduct: but even laughed at thoſe, who demanded from them any reaſonable account, either of their paſt tranſactions, or of their future projects and deſigns. The Lacedæmonians, who ſo lately had received their liberty from the generous efforts of the Achæans and Antigonus, and who ought to have been reſtrained by that conſideration, from purſuing any meaſures that were repugnant to the intereſts of the Macedonians and of Philip, ſent now in private to the Ætolians, and concluded with them a ſecret treaty of friendſhip and alliance.

While the Achæans were employed in drawing together their forces, and in regulating all things that related to the ſuccours, which the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians had engaged to furniſh; Scerdilaidas and Demetrius of Pharos, departing from Illyria with a fleet of ninety frigates, ſailed beyond Liſſus, in direct violation of the treaty which had been concluded with the Romans. They firſt ſteered their courſe together to Pylus, and endeavoured to take the city by ſtorm, but were repulſed in the attempt. Demetrius then took with him fifty of the veſſels; and ſailing round the Cyclade iſlands, he plundered ſome of them, and exacted large ſums of money from the reſt: while Scerdilaidas, with the forty frigates that were left, directing his courſe back again towards Illyria, caſt anchor at Naupactus; truſting to the friendſhip of Amynas, king of the Athamanians, to whom he was allied in blood. And having through the intervention of Agelaus, concluded a treaty alſo with the Ætolians, he engaged to join his forces with them againſt the Achæans, on condition that he ſhould receive an equal ſhare of all the booty. Dorimachus, Scopas, and Agelaus, conſented to the terms that were propoſed: and having about the ſame time conceived ſome hopes of gaining the city of Cynætha by ſurprize,

they drew together all the Ætolian forces, and being joined alſo by the Illyrians, began their march towards Achaia.

In the mean time Ariſton, the Prætor of the Ætolians, remained quiet at home; and as if he had been ignorant of all that was tranſacted, declared aloud, that they had no deſign to make war againſt the Achæans, but that the peace ſtill ſubſiſted between the two Republicks; acting in this reſpect a moſt weak and childiſh part. For what can be more vain or ſenſeleſs, than to hope to conceal the truth under the diſguiſe of words, when it is ſhewn in the fulleſt light by the evidence of facts?

Dorimachus, paſſing through the Achæan territory, appeared ſuddenly before Cynætha. This city, which was ſituated in Arcadia, had for a long time been diſtracted by inteſtine tumults; which were carried to ſo great exceſs, that many of the citizens loſt their lives in thoſe diſorders, and many were driven into baniſhment. They ſeized in turn upon the fortunes of each other, and made new diviſions of their lands. At laſt, the faction that had embraced the intereſts of the Achæans, having prevailed againſt the reſt of the inhabitants, kept entire poſſeſſion of the city, and received ſome troops for their defence, together with a Governor alſo, from Achaia. While things were in this condition, and not long before the arrival of the Ætolians, thoſe that had been forced to fly, ſent a deputation to the reſt who remained maſters of the city, requeſting them to conſent to terms of reconciliation with them, and to ſuffer them to return. The citizens, moved by their intreaties, ſent ſome deputies to the Achæan States, that the agreement might be made with the knowledge and conſent of that Republick. The Achæans readily approved of the deſign: being perſuaded that they ſhould thus be able to retain both parties in their intereſts, for the time to come. For as the inhabitants, that were maſters of the city, were already in all

all points devoted to them, ſo thoſe likewiſe, who were now to be reſtored, could ſcarcely fail of being always ſenſible, that they were indebted to the Achæans for their ſafety and return. The Cynætheans therefore diſmiſſed the garriſon and governor from the city; and brought back the exiles, who were in number about three hundred: having firſt exacted ſuch aſſurances of their fidelity, as are eſteemed the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſacred among mankind. But no ſooner were theſe men admitted, than, without even waiting till ſome pretext or occaſion ſhould ariſe, from whence they might renew the paſt contentions, they at once engaged in the black deſign, of betraying their benefactors and their country. I am even inclined to think, that in the very moment when they touched the ſacred victims, and made a mutual exchange of oaths and ſolemn promiſes, they were then revolving in their minds that impious project, by which they had reſolved ſo ſoon to inſult the Gods, and abuſe the confidence of their fellow-citizens. For ſcarcely had they regained their former ſtate, and were again aſſociated in the government, when they concerted meaſures with the Ætolians, for delivering the place into their hands: nor ſcrupled to involve in one common ruin, both thoſe to whom themſelves were juſt before indebted for their ſafety, and that very city alſo, in whoſe lap they had been nouriſhed. This treaſon was contrived, and carried into execution, in the following manner.

Among the exiles, there were ſome that were of the number of thoſe magiſtrates, who were called Polemarchs: whoſe office it was, to ſhut the gates of the city; to keep the keys in their own cuſtody, till they were again ſet open; and to guard the entrance alſo of the gates by day. The Ætolians had prepared their ladders, and ſtood in readineſs, to begin the attack. And when theſe Polemarchs, having killed all thoſe that were ſtationed with them upon the

guard, had thrown the gate open to receive them, one part entered that way into the city, while the reſt, with the aſſiſtance of their ladders, gained poſſeſſion of the walls. The inhabitants were all ſeized with conſternation, and knew not to what meaſures they ſhould have recourſe. For as it was not poſſible, to fix themſelves in a body to the gate, becauſe the danger threatened equally from the walls; ſo neither were they able, on the other hand, to employ their efforts againſt thoſe that were entering along the walls, while the reſt advanced with no leſs ardour through the gate. The Ætolians therefore were in a ſhort time maſters of the place. But amidſt all the violence and diſorder that enſued, they performed one act of great and exemplary juſtice. For the traitors, by whoſe aſſiſtance they had been received into the city, were the firſt marked out for ſlaughter, and their goods firſt pillaged. The reſt of the inhabitants were forced afterwards to undergo the ſame cruel treatment. The Ætolians then ſpread themſelves through all the houſes, and penetrated even to the foundations of them in ſearch of plunder; deſtroying alſo many of the citizens in torture, whom they ſuſpected to have concealed any portion of their wealth or valuable goods.

Having thus fully ſatiated all their cruelty, they left a garriſon in the place, and directed their march towards Luſſi. And when they arrived at the temple of Diana, which ſtood between Clitor and Cynætha, and was eſteemed inviolable among the Greeks, they began to force away the ſacred cattle, and to pillage every thing that was within their reach. But the Luſſiates, having wiſely offered to them a part of the ſacred furniture, reſtrained their impious purpoſe, and engaged them to deſiſt from any greater violence. They continued their route therefore, and came and incamped before Clitor. In the mean while Aratus, having ſent to Philip to ſollicit ſome aſſiſtance, made haſte to draw together all the Achæan forces;

forces; and demanded alſo from the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians, the troops which they had ſeverally engaged to furniſh.

The Ætolians, when they had firſt in vain endeavoured to prevail on the Clitorians to join their party, and renounce the alliance of the Achæans, made their approaches againſt the town, and attempted to ſcale the walls. But the inhabitants maintained their ground with ſo much bravery and firmneſs, that they ſoon were forced to abandon the deſign, and retreated back again towards Cynætha; plundering the country as they went, and carrying with them alſo the ſacred cattle, which they before had left untouched. They at firſt deſigned to leave Cynætha to the Eleans: and when this people refuſed the offer, they reſolved that they would keep it in their own poſſeſſion, and appointed Euripides to be the Governor. But in a ſhort time afterwards, being alarmed by the report, that ſome troops were juſt ready to arrive from Macedon, they ſet fire to the city, and then retired, and directed their march towards Rhium; deſigning to embark their forces there, and to return back again to Ætolia.

The Macedonian General Taurion, being informed of all the motions of the Ætolians, and of the outrages which they had committed at Cynætha, and hearing alſo that Demetrius of Pharos had now brought back his fleet from the Cyclade iſlands to the port of Cenchræ, ſent ſome meſſengers to that Prince; inviting him to join the Achæans; to tranſport his veſſels acroſs the Iſthmus; and to fall upon the Ætolians in their return. Demetrius, who had gained a very rich booty in his expedition, though he was forced at laſt to fly with ſome diſgrace before the Rhodians who had ſent out a fleet againſt him, conſented readily to this propoſal, on condition that Taurion ſhould defray the charge of tranſporting the veſſels over. But when he had paſſed the Iſthmus, he found that the Ætolians had completed their return two days before.

Having

Having pillaged therefore ſome few places that ſtood moſt expoſed along their coaſt, he then ſteered his courſe back to Corinth.

The Lacedæmonians perfidiouſly with-held the ſuccours, which by the ſtated regulation they were bound to furniſh: and ſent only ſome inconſiderable troops of Horſe, with a ſmall body of Infantry, that thus they might appear not wholly to have ſlighted their engagements. Aratus alſo, with the Achæan forces, diſplayed rather, upon this occaſion, the caution of a Politician, than the courage of a General. For ſo entirely was his mind poſſeſſed with the remembrance of the late defeat, that he remained ſtill quiet, and attempted nothing. Scopas therefore and Dorimachus accompliſhed at their leiſure all that they had deſigned; and returned alſo back again with ſafety: though their retreat was made through paſſes ſo ſtrait and difficult, that a trumpet only might have been ſufficient, to gain a victory againſt them.

With regard to the inhabitants of Cynætha, whoſe misfortunes we have juſt now mentioned, it is certain, that no people ever were eſteemed ſo juſtly to deſerve that cruel treatment to which they were expoſed. And ſince the Arcadians in general have been always celebrated for their virtue throughout all Greece; and have obtained the higheſt fame, as well by their humane and hoſpitable diſpoſition, as from their piety alſo towards the Gods, and their veneration of all things ſacred; it may perhaps be uſeful to inquire, from whence it could ariſe, that the people of this ſingle city, though confeſſed to be Arcadians, ſhould on the contrary be noted for the ſavage roughneſs of their lives and manners, and diſtinguiſhed by their wickedneſs and cruelty above all the Greeks. In my judgement then, this difference has happened from no other cauſe, than that the Cynætheans were the firſt and only people among the Arcadians, who threw away that Inſtitution, which their anceſtors had eſtabliſhed with the greateſt wiſdom, and

and with a nice regard to the natural genius, and peculiar diſpoſition of the people of the country: I mean, the diſcipline and exerciſe of Muſick: of that genuine and perfect Muſick, which is uſeful indeed in every State, but abſolutely neceſſary to the people of Arcadia. For we ought by no means to adopt the ſentiment that is thrown out by Ephorus in the preface to his Hiſtory, and which indeed is very unworthy of that Writer; "that Muſick was invented, to deceive and delude mankind." Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that the Lacedæmonians, and the ancient Cretans, were not influenced by ſome good reaſon, when, in the place of trumpets, they introduced the ſound of flutes, and harmony of verſe, to animate their ſoldiers in the time of battle: or that the firſt Arcadians acted without ſtrong neceſſity, who, though their lives and manners, in all other points, were rigid and auſtere, incorporated this Art into the very eſſence of their government; and obliged not their children only, but the young men likewiſe, till they had gained the age of thirty years, to perſiſt in the conſtant ſtudy and practice of it. For all men know, that Arcadia is almoſt the only country, in which the children, even from their moſt tender age, are taught to ſing in meaſure the ſongs and hymns, that are compoſed in honour of their Gods and Heroes: and that afterwards, when they have learned the muſick of Timotheus, and Philoxenus, they aſſemble once in every Year in the publick theatres, at the Feaſt of Bacchus; and there dance with emulation, to the ſound of flutes; and celebrate, according to their proper age, the children thoſe that are called the Puerile, and the young men, the Manly Games. And even in their private feaſts and meetings, they are never known to employ any hired bands of Muſick for their entertainment; but each man is himſelf obliged to ſing in turn. For though they may, without ſhame or cenſure, diſown all knowledge of every other ſcience, they dare not on the one hand diſſemble or deny, that they are ſkilled in

muſick, ſince the laws require, that every one ſhould be inſtructed in it; nor can they, on the other hand, refuſe to give ſome proofs of their ſkill when aſked, becauſe ſuch refuſal would be eſteemed diſhonourable. They are taught alſo to perform in order all the military ſteps and motions, to the ſound of inſtruments: and this is likewiſe practiſed every year in the theatres, at the publick charge, and in ſight of all the citizens.

Now to me it is clearly evident, that the ancients by no means introduced theſe cuſtoms, to be the inſtruments of luxury and idle pleaſure: but becauſe they had conſidered with attention, both the painful and laborious courſe of life, to which the Arcadians were accuſtomed; and the natural auſterity alſo of their manners, derived to them from that cold and heavy air, which covered the greateſt part of all their province. For men will be always found to be in ſome degree aſſimilated to the climate, in which they live: nor can it be aſcribed to any other cauſe, that in the ſeveral nations of the world, diſtinct and ſeparated from each other, we behold ſo wide a difference, in complexion, features, manners, cuſtoms. The Arcadians therefore, in order to ſmooth and ſoften that diſpoſition, which was by nature ſo rough and ſtubborn, beſides the cuſtoms above deſcribed, appointed frequent feſtivals and ſacrifices, which both ſexes were required to celebrate together; the men with women, and the boys with virgins: and in general eſtabliſhed every inſtitution, that could ſerve to render their rugged minds more gentle and compliant, and tame the fierceneſs of their manners. But the people of Cynætha, having ſlighted all theſe arts, though both their air and ſituation, the moſt inclement and unfavourable of any in Arcadia, made ſome ſuch remedy more requiſite to them than to the reſt, were afterwards engaged continually in inteſtine tumults and contentions; till they became at laſt ſo fierce and ſavage, that, among all the cities of Greece, there was none in which ſo many and ſo great enormities were ever known to be

committed. To how deplorable a ſtate this conduct had at laſt reduced them, and how much their manners were deteſted by the Arcadians, may be fully underſtood from that which happened to them, when they ſent an embaſſy to Lacedæmon, after the time of a dreadful ſlaughter which had been made among them. For in every city of Arcadia, through which their deputies were obliged to paſs, they were commanded by the publick Crier, inſtantly to be gone. The Mantineans alſo expreſſed even ſtill more ſtrongly their abhorrence of them. For as ſoon as they were departed, they made a ſolemn purification of the place; and carried victims in proceſſion round the city, and through all their territory.

This then may be ſufficient, to exempt the general cuſtoms of Arcadia from all cenſure; and at the ſame time to remind the people of that province, that Muſick was at firſt eſtabliſhed in their government, not for the ſake of vain pleaſure and amuſement, but for ſuch ſolid purpoſes, as ſhould engage them never to deſert the practice of it. The Cynætheans alſo may perhaps draw ſome advantage from theſe reflections; and, if the Deity ſhould hereafter bleſs them with better ſentiments, may turn their minds towards ſuch diſcipline, as may ſoften and improve their manners, and eſpecially to Muſick: by which means alone they can ever hope to be diveſted of that brutal fierceneſs, by which they have been ſo long diſtinguiſhed. But we ſhall here leave this people: and return again to the place, from whence we began our digreſſion.

The Ætolians, after thoſe exploits in Peloponneſus, which have been deſcribed, were juſt now returned again in ſafety to their country, when Philip arrived at Corinth with an army, to aſſiſt the Achæans. Perceiving that the enemy was gone, he diſpatched his couriers to all the cities of the alliance, deſiring that ſome perſons might be ſent to Corinth, to deliberate with him on the meaſures that were proper to be taken for the common ſervice; and himſelf in the mean while began

his march towards Tegea; having received notice, that the people of Lacedæmon were diſtracted by inteſtine tumults, and that much ſlaughter had been committed in the city. For the Lacedæmonians, who had been long accuſtomed to ſubmit to kingly government, and to pay an unreſtrained obedience to their Chiefs, having now lately gained their liberty by the favour of Antigonus, and finding no monarch at their head, were broken into various factions, and all claimed alike an equal ſhare in the adminiſtration of the State. Among the Ephori, there were two, who made at firſt no open declaration of their ſentiments; and three, that entered without reſerve into all the intereſts of the Ætolians; imagining, that Philip, on account of his tender age, would be yet unable to controul the affairs of Peloponneſus. But when theſe laſt perceived, that the Ætolians had left the country much ſooner than their hopes had promiſed; and that Philip alſo was arrived from Macedon, before they had expected his approach; they began to apprehend, that Adimantus, one of the former two, to whom they had opened their intentions, and in vain endeavoured to draw him to their party, would not fail to carry to the King a full diſcovery of all that had been tranſacted. Having therefore ſecretly engaged ſome young men in their deſign, they publiſhed a decree, that all who were of ſufficient age, ſhould meet in arms at the Temple of Minerva, to defend the city againſt the Macedonians. An order ſo ſtrange and unexpected ſoon drew the people together in crouds towards the Temple. Adimantus, being deeply grieved at theſe proceedings, haſtened to gain the head of all the aſſembly, and began to addreſs the people in the following manner. "When the Ætolians, ſaid he, our declared and open enemies, had drawn their forces to the very borders of our country, it was then the time to publiſh theſe Decrees, and to aſſemble the Youth in arms: and not when the Macedonians, our allies and friends, to whom we owe our liberties and ſafety,

ſafety, are advancing with their King towards us." But as he was proceeding in this harangue, ſome of the young men who had been appointed to the taſk, fell upon him with their ſwords. They then killed alſo Sthenelaus, Alcamenes, Thyeſtes, Bionidas, with many others of the citizens. But Polyphontes, and ſome few beſides, having in time foreſeen the danger, eſcaped ſafe to Philip.

After this tranſaction, the Ephori, who were now ſole maſters of the government, ſent ſome deputies to Philip, to accuſe the citizens that were ſlain, as having been themſelves the authors of the tumult: to requeſt the King, not to advance any nearer to them, till the commotion that remained from the late ſedition had firſt ſubſided: and in the laſt place to aſſure him, that, with regard to the Macedonians, they were ready in all points to perform their duty, as juſtice or as friendſhip ſhould require. The deputies, having met the King near the mountain called Parthenius, diſcharged their commiſſion to him, agreeably to theſe inſtructions. When they had ended, Philip ordered them to return immediately back to Sparta, and acquaint the Ephori, that he deſigned to continue his march forwards, and to incamp near Tegea; and that they ſhould ſend to him to that place, without delay, ſome perſons of ſufficient weight, to deliberate with him on the meaſures that were proper to be purſued in this conjuncture. The Ephori, as ſoon as they had received theſe orders, deputed to the King ten citizens, of whom Omias was the chief: who when they arrived at Tegea, and were admitted into the royal council, began alſo with accuſing Adimantus and his friends, as having been the authors of the late diſorders. They promiſed that they would obſerve moſt faithfully the terms of the alliance: and that among all the States, that ſeemed moſt cloſely attached by friendſhip to the King, the Lacedæmonians ſhould yield to none in the ſincerity and zeal, with which they would at all times ſtrive

to advance his intereſts. After theſe aſſurances, with others of the ſame kind and purpoſe, the deputies retired.

The members of the Council were divided in their ſentiments. For ſome, who were well acquainted with the ſecret of the late tranſactions, and who knew that Adimantus and the reſt had loſt their lives, on account only of their attachment to the Macedonians, and that the Lacedæmonians already had reſolved to join the Ætolians, adviſed the King to have recourſe to ſome exemplary vengeance; and in a word, to puniſh this people with the ſame ſeverity, as that with which Alexander puniſhed the inhabitants of Thebes, ſoon after he had taken poſſeſſion of his kingdom. Others, who were of greater age, declared that ſuch treatment would too far exceed the offence. They thought however, that it was highly reaſonable, that the men, who had been the cauſe of the late diſorders, ſhould be forced to bear ſome cenſure: that they ſhould be diveſted of their offices: and the government be left to thoſe, who were known to be well diſpoſed towards the King.

When they had all delivered their opinion, the King himſelf replied in the following manner; if indeed we can at all ſuppoſe, that ſuch an anſwer was his own. For it is ſcarcely credible, that a Youth of ſeventeen Years ſhould be able to decide with ſuch true judgement, in matters of ſo great importance. But when we are writing hiſtory, we are forced always to aſcribe every final deciſion that is made in ſuch debates, to thoſe who are poſſeſſed of the ſupreme adminiſtration and command: leaving it however to the reader to ſuppoſe, that the reaſons upon which ſuch deciſions are ſupported, were at firſt ſuggeſted by the perſons that are near the Prince; and eſpecially by thoſe, who are maſters of his private confidence. In the preſent inſtance, it ſeems moſt probable, that Aratus furniſhed the opinion, which was now delivered by the King.

He

He ſaid then, " that in the caſe of thoſe diſorders, and acts of violence, that were at any time committed by the Allies among themſelves, his duty might perhaps require him ſo far to interpoſe, as to acquaint them with his ſentiments, and endeavour to compoſe their breaches, and correct all that was amiſs, by exhortations or by letters: but that ſuch offences only, as were crimes againſt the general Confederacy, required a general and a publick puniſhment; and that too from all the allies in common. That as the Lacedæmonians had been guilty of no open violation of the laws of this Confederacy, but on the contrary had engaged by the moſt ſolemn promiſes, that they would faithfully perform the conditions of it, it ſeemed to be by no means juſt or reaſonable, that any kind of ſeverity ſhould be ſhewn towards them. He added likewiſe, that it could ſcarcely fail to draw upon himſelf the cenſure of mankind, if now, from ſo ſlight a cauſe, he ſhould reſolve to act with rigour againſt this people, whom his Father not long before had treated with the utmoſt gentleneſs, even after he had conquered them as enemies."

As ſoon then as it was decided, that no farther inquiry ſhould be made concerning the late tranſactions, the King ſent Petræus, one of his friends, together with Omias, to Lacedæmon: to exhort the people ſtill to adhere to the intereſts of the Macedonians, and to confirm anew the alliance, by a mutual exchange of oaths. He then decamped, and returned again to Corinth: having ſhewn, in this generous treatment of the Lacedæmonians, ſuch a ſpecimen of his mind and inclinations, as filled the Allies with the faireſt hopes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

THE King being now met at Corinth by the deputies from the confederate States, held a general Council, to deliberate on the meaſures that were proper to be taken againſt the Ætolians. The Bœotians accuſed them, of having plundered the temple of Itonian Minerva, during the time of peace. The Phocæans, that they had armed ſome forces, with deſign to poſſeſs themſelves of Ambryſus and Daulis. The Epirots, that they had waſted all their province. And the Acarnanians, that they had attempted to take Thyreum by ſurprize. The Achæans alſo related at large, in what manner they had gained poſſeſſion of Clarium, in the Megalopolitan territory: waſted all the lands of the Patræans and Pharæans: ſacked the city of Cynætha: pillaged the Temple of Diana at Luſſi: laid ſiege to Clitor: made an attack by ſea upon Pylus: and by land likewiſe, being aſſiſted by the Illyrians, had attempted to ſtorm the city of Megalopolis, when it was juſt now beginning to be filled again with people, in order to reduce it to it's late deſolate ſtate.

When the Council had heard all theſe complaints, it was with one voice agreed, that war ſhould be declared againſt the Ætolians. They made therefore a Decree, in which, having firſt recited the ſeveral accuſations juſt now mentioned, they declared; "that they would immediately employ all their force, in favour of the allies, to recover every city, and every province, which the Ætolians had uſurped, from the time of the death of Demetrius the Father of Philip. That thoſe, who had been compelled by the neceſſity of times and circumſtances to aſſociate themſelves with the Ætolian Republick, ſhould be reinſtated in their own proper government; ſhould poſſeſs their towns and territories, free from garriſons,

and discharged from tribute; should enjoy their liberty entire; and be governed by the customs of their ancestors. And in the last place, that the power and laws of the Amphictyons should be again restored; together with the Temple likewise, and all the jurisdiction, of which the Ætolians had deprived them." This Decree was made in the first year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad; and from hence began the Social War. A war founded altogether upon justice: and such as was indeed the fair and necessary consequence of the past disorders.

The Council then sent some deputies to all the Allies, that the Decree might be confirmed in every State, in a general assembly of the people, and war be declared against the Ætolians, in every separate province. At the same time, Philip informed the Ætolians also by a letter, that if there was any thing that could be urged in answer to the accusations with which they had been charged, they might now appear before the Council, and enter upon their defence: but that it was the very height of folly, to persuade themselves, that because they had robbed and pillaged all the parts of Greece before hostilities had been declared by any Decree of their Republick, the States must therefore quietly submit to the injustice; or, in case that they prepared to punish it, be considered as the authors of the war.

The Chiefs of the Ætolians, having received the letter, appointed at first a certain day, upon which they promised that they would meet the King at Rhium; imagining, that Philip would refuse to come. But when they heard that he was arrived, they sent a courier to acquaint him, that as the General Council of the Ætolians was not yet assembled, they had no power of themselves to enter into any deliberations, in things which concerned the whole Republick.

The Achæans, as soon as they were met together at Ægium, at the usual time of holding their Assemblies, with one voice confirmed

confirmed the Decree, and made publick proclamation of war againſt the Ætolians. The King, who was preſent in the Council, made a long diſcourſe; which the Achæans received with the greateſt marks of favour, and renewed with him all the obligations of fidelity and friendſhip, which they had made in former times to any of his anceſtors.

About this time alſo, the Ætolians, being aſſembled to elect their magiſtrates, made choice of Scopas to be Prætor; the very man who was the cauſe of all the late diſorders. What ſhall we ſay of this proceeding? Not to declare war by any publick Decree, and yet to aſſemble the people together in arms, to invade and pillage every neighbouring State; and inſtead of puniſhing the authors of this violence, to receive them with rewards and honours, and to advance them to the higheſt magiſtracies: ſuch a conduct muſt ſurely be conſidered as a moſt conſummate piece of wickedneſs; and ſuch as cannot be expreſſed in any ſofter language. The following examples may ſerve more clearly to explain the nature of this baſeneſs. When Phœbidas had by treachery ſeized the citadel of Thebes that was called Cadmea, the Lacedæmonians puniſhed indeed the author of that diſhonourable action, but ſuffered the garriſon ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of the citadel; and pretended, that they had made full ſatisfaction for the injuſtice, by chaſtiſing him who had contrived the perfidy: whereas it was clear to all, that the Thebans could be neither ſafe nor free, unleſs the garriſon alſo was withdrawn. The ſame people likewiſe, after the general peace had been concluded by Antalcidas, declared by the voice of the publick crier, that they reſtored to liberty all the States of Greece, and left them to be governed by their own proper laws: when at the ſame time they refuſed to remove the magiſtrates who preſided, under their appointment, in every city. And afterwards, when they had ſubdued the Mantineans, their allies and friends, and forced them to diſ-

ſolve their government, they pretended, that they had done them no kind of wrong; ſince they had only taken them from one city, to ſettle them in many. But ſurely it is no leſs a proof of folly, than of wickedneſs, for any people to conceive, that, becauſe themſelves have wilfully ſhut their eyes, all mankind beſides muſt be therefore blind. And indeed this conduct proved the ſource of ſuch great calamities, both to the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians, that thoſe who are wiſe will on no account be ever led to imitate it, either in their private affairs, or in the publick government of States.

The King, when he had regulated all things with the Achæans, retired back again to Macedon with his army, and began to make the neceſſary preparations for the war. The Decree, that had now been made, had raiſed him high in the eſteem, not only of the Allies, but of all the people of Greece, who were filled with the nobleſt expectations, from the proofs which he had already ſhewn of gentleneſs and moderation, and of ſuch true greatneſs as was worthy of a King.

Theſe things were all tranſacted at the time in which Annibal, having ſubdued the other parts of Spain that were beyond the Iberus, was preparing to beſiege Saguntum. Now, if the motions and firſt progreſs of this General had in any manner been connected with the affairs of Greece, we ſhould have joined and interwoven the hiſtory of the latter, in it's due place and order, with the relation which we gave of the former in the preceding Book. But becauſe the wars that now broke out in Italy, in Greece, and Aſia, had each a beginning diſtinct and peculiar to themſelves, though they all were terminated in one common end, it ſeemed moſt proper, that we ſhould give alſo a diſtinct and ſeparate account of each, till we arrived at the time in which they were blended firſt together, and began to move in one direction towards the ſame ſingle point. By this method, we ſhall be able to explain with greater clearneſs, not only the commence-

ments of theſe wars, but all the circumſtances alſo that belonged to their firſt connection; the time and manner of which, together with the cauſes of it, have already been in part remarked; and ſhall afterwards unite them all in one common Hiſtory. This connection firſt was made, in the third year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, ſoon after the concluſion of the Social War. From the end of this war therefore, we ſhall include, as we have ſaid, in one general Hiſtory, all the events that followed; intermixing them together in their proper place and order. But before that period, we ſhall treat of every one diſtinctly: taking care however ſtill to remind the reader, which among thoſe tranſactions, that are deſcribed in the preceding Book, were coincident with the events which we are now going to relate. For thus the whole narration will be rendered eaſy and intelligible: and the importance alſo of the ſubjects will appear with more advantage, and will ſtrike the mind with a greater force.

The King, during the time of winter, which he paſſed in Macedon, levied troops with the greateſt diligence; and made alſo the preparations that were neceſſary, to ſecure his kingdom againſt the attempts of thoſe barbarians, who lived upon the borders of it. He afterwards went to hold a private conference with Scerdilaidas. And having truſted himſelf boldly in his hands, and preſſed him to join in the alliance, and become a confederate in the war, he prevailed without much difficulty: partly by engaging to aſſiſt him in reducing certain places in Illyria; and partly alſo by enumerating all thoſe ſubjects of complaint, which it was no hard taſk to find againſt the Ætolians. For the wrongs and injuries, that are committed by publick States, differ in no reſpect from thoſe that are done by private men, except only in their number and importance. It may alſo be remarked, that ſocieties of thieves and robbers are uſually broken by no other means, than becauſe the perſons, of whom they are compoſed, fail to render

juſtice to each other, and are falſe to their own mutual engagements. And this it was that happened now to the Ætolians. They had promiſed to allot to Scerdilaidas a certain part of all the plunder, if he would join his forces with them, to invade Achaia. But when this was done, and they had ſacked the city of Cynætha, and carried away great numbers both of ſlaves and cattle, they excluded him even from the ſmalleſt ſhare, in the diviſion of the booty. As his mind therefore was already filled with a ſenſe of this injuſtice, no ſooner had Philip ſlightly mentioned the wrongs which he had received, than he entered readily into all that was propoſed, and conſented to join in the confederacy, upon theſe conditions: that twenty Talents ſhould be paid to him every year; and that on his part, he ſhould arm thirty frigates, and carry on the war by ſea againſt the Ætolians.

While the King was thus employed, the Deputies, that were ſent to all the allies, came firſt to Acarnania, and diſcharged their commiſſion there. The Acarnanians, honeſt and ingenuous, confirmed immediately the Decree, and declared war againſt the Ætolians, without any heſitation or reſerve. And yet of all the States of Greece, this people might moſt reaſonably have been excuſed, if they had ſought pretences for delay; had been ſlow in making any declaration of their ſentiments; and in a word, had altogether feared to draw upon themſelves the vengeance of their neighbours. For as they were cloſely joined to the confines of the Ætolian territory, ſo their country likewiſe was open and defenceleſs, and an eaſy prey to every enemy. And, which was ſtill of more conſiderable moment, the hatred alſo, which they had ſhewn againſt the Ætolians, had involved them, not long before this time, in very great calamities. But men, that are brave and generous, will force all conſiderations to fall before their duty. And ſo ſtrongly was this virtue rooted in the Acarnanians, that, though their State was extremely weak

and feeble, they had ſcarcely in any times been known to ſwerve from the practice of it. In every conjuncture therefore that is dangerous and difficult, an alliance with this people ought by no means to be ſlighted, but ſhould rather be embraced with eagerneſs: ſince among all the Greeks, there are none who have ſhewn a warmer love of liberty, or a more unalterable ſteadineſs in all their conduct.

The Epirots on the contrary, when they had received the deputies, confirmed indeed the Decree, but refuſed to make any declaration of war againſt the Ætolians, till Philip ſhould have firſt declared it. At the ſame time they aſſured the deputies that were then preſent from Ætolia, that they would ſtill remain in peace. And thus they acted both a double and diſhonourable part. An embaſſy was ſent alſo to king Ptolemy; to requeſt him not to aſſiſt the Ætolians with any kind of ſupplies or money for the war, in oppoſition to Philip and the allies.

But the Meſſenians, for whoſe ſake chiefly the confederacy was formed, refuſed to bear any part in the war, unleſs the city of Phigalea, which ſtood upon the borders of their province, ſhould firſt be ſeparated from the Ætolian government. This reſolution, to which the Ephori of the Meſſenians, Oenis and Nicippus, with ſome others of the oligarchical leaders, had forced the people to conſent, was in my judgement the moſt ſenſeleſs and abſurd, that could be taken in the preſent circumſtances. It is true indeed, that the calamities of war are ſuch as may well be dreaded: but not in ſo great degree, as that, rather than engage in it, we ſhould ſubmit with tameneſs to bear every injury. For to what purpoſe do we ſo highly prize an equality in government, the liberty of ſpeaking all our ſentiments, and the glorious name of freedom, if nothing is to be preferred to peace? Muſt we then approve of the conduct of the Thebans, who in the time of the wars againſt the Medes, which threatened the deſtruction of all the States of Greece,

ſeparated

ſeparated themſelves from the common danger, and were led by their fears to embrace thoſe meaſures, which proved afterwards ſo fatal to them? Or can we applaud the ſentiments of their poet Pindar; who, in flattery to the judgement of his country, adviſes all the citizens, to place their only hopes of ſafety in repoſe; and to ſeek, as he expreſſes it,

The radiant ſplendors of majeſtick Peace?

For theſe ſentiments, that appeared ſo plauſible and ſpecious, were found in the event to be not leſs pernicious than diſhonourable. In a word, as no acquiſition is more to be eſteemed than peace, when it leaves us in poſſeſſion of our honour and lawful rights; ſo on the other hand, whenever it is joined with loſs of freedom, or with infamy, nothing can be more deteſtable or fatal.

Now the Meſſenians, whoſe counſels all were governed by a faction of a few, had always been miſled, by motives which reſpected only the private intereſts of the Oligarchy, and had courted peace with much too great an earneſtneſs. For though, in conſequence of this attention to their eaſe, they had eſcaped the ſtorms that ſeemed to threaten them in many difficult conjunctures; yet on the other hand, while they perſiſted ſtill unalterably in this conduct, the danger, which they ought chiefly to have dreaded, gained inſenſibly ſo great ſtrength againſt them, that their country was at laſt forced to ſtruggle with the worſt calamities: which might indeed have all been obviated, if they had been careful only to purſue the meaſures that were neceſſary, with regard to the people that were ſituated neareſt to them, and who were the moſt powerful likewiſe of all the States of Peloponneſus, or rather of all Greece; I mean the Lacedæmonians and Arcadians: the former of whom had ſhewn an implacable enmity againſt them, even from their firſt ſettlement in the country, without being able to provoke them to any generous efforts of reſentment;

while

while the latter guarded all their intereſts with care, and treated them with favour and affection, which they neglected to cheriſh or maintain. From hence it happened, that while theſe two States were engaged in war, either againſt each other, or with any more diſtant enemies, the Meſſenians, favoured by the times, paſſed their lives in full ſecurity and repoſe. But when the Lacedæmonians were at laſt wholly diſincumbered from all other wars, and had leiſure to employ their ſtrength againſt them; being then unable of themſelves to reſiſt an enemy whoſe force was far ſuperior to their own, and having neglected alſo to gain in time ſuch firm and honeſt friends, as might have ſtood together with them under every danger, they were forced either to ſubmit to the very vileſt ſervitude, or to abandon their habitations and their country, together with their wives and children. And to this miſerable alternative have they often been reduced; even within the times, that are not far diſtant from the preſent. For my own part, it is my earneſt wiſh, that the agreement which now ſubſiſts among the States of Peloponneſus may ſtill continue to acquire new ſtrength; and that they may never want the advice, which I am going to offer. But if the bonds of this confederacy ſhould ever be again diſſolved, I am fully aſſured, that there is no other way, by which the Meſſenians and Arcadians can hope long to remain in the poſſeſſion of their country, than by embracing the ſentiments of Epaminondas, and maintaining ſtill, in every conjuncture, the cloſeſt union both of intereſts and counſels, without diſſimulation or reſerve. It may add perhaps ſome weight to my opinion, if we conſider what was in this reſpect the conduct of theſe two States in ancient times. Now, among many other things that might be mentioned, it is reported by Calliſthenes, that the Meſſenians, in the time of Ariſtomenes, erected a Column near the altar of Lycæan Jupiter, and inſcribed upon it the following verſes:

At

At laſt ſtern Juſtice ſeals the Tyrant's doom.

Led by the Gods, Meſſenia's injur'd land
Soon found the Traitor through his dark diſguiſe:
Vain was his hope, to ſhun heav'n's vengeful hand,
Or veil his perj'ry from Jove's piercing eyes.
All hail, the ſov'reign King! the Lord of fate!
Ever propitious prove, and bleſs Arcadia's State.

From this Inſcription, in which they thus implore the Gods to protect Arcadia, we may judge, that the Meſſenians were willing to acknowledge, that they regarded this Province as their ſecond country, after they had loſt their own. And indeed they had good reaſon ſo to regard it. For when they were driven from their country, in the time of thoſe wars in which they were engaged under the conduct of Ariſtomenes, the Arcadians not only yielded to them the protection of their State, and admitted them to the rights of citizens, but gave their daughters alſo, by a publick decree, to the young Meſſenians that were of age to marry. And having made inquiry likewiſe into the guilt of their own king Ariſtocrates, who had baſely deſerted the Meſſenians in the combat that was called the Battle of the Trenches, they deſtroyed the traitor, and extirpated alſo all his race. But without looking back to an age ſo far removed, that which happened about the time in which Megalopolis and Meſſene began to be inhabited, may ſerve fully to confirm the point which I am labouring to eſtabliſh. After the battle of Mantinea, in which the death of Epaminondas left the victory doubtful, the Lacedæmonians employed all their efforts, to exclude the people of Meſſenia from the general treaty: having flattered themſelves with ſecret hopes, that they ſhould ſoon become the maſters of that province. But the Megalopolitans, with all the States that were confederates with the Arcadians, ſupported the Meſſenians with ſo much ſteadineſs and zeal, that they were received by

by the allies, and included in the peace; while the Lacedæmonians alone, of all the Greeks, were themſelves excluded from it. This then may be ſufficient to ſhew the truth of all that I have now advanced. And from hence the Meſſenians and Arcadians may be taught, to remember always the misfortunes, that have been brought upon their country by the Lacedæmonians, in former times; and to remain ſo firmly joined together in the bonds of mutual confidence and friendſhip, that they never may be moved, either by the dread of an enemy, or by any unreaſonable love of peace, to deſert each other in the time of danger. But we ſhall now return from this digreſſion.

The Lacedæmonians acted, upon this occaſion, in a manner not unſuitable to their uſual conduct: for they diſmiſſed the deputies, that were ſent to them from the allies, without any anſwer. Such was the conſequence of their late wicked and abſurd proceedings; which had involved them in ſo great doubt and difficulty, that they knew not to what meaſures they ought now to have recourſe. So true it is, that raſh and deſperate projects moſt frequently reduce men in the end to an utter incapacity, either to think, or act.

But not long afterwards, when new Ephori were elected in the city, the faction that had been the cauſe of the late diſorders, and of the ſlaughter that was then committed, ſent to the Ætolians, and deſired that ſome perſon might be deputed to them in the name of the Republick. The Ætolians conſented readily to this requeſt. And when their Deputy, who was named Machatas, arrived ſoon afterwards at Lacedæmon, the men, by whoſe advice he had been ſent, preſſed the Ephori, that he might be allowed to ſpeak in an aſſembly of the people. They demanded likewiſe, that ſome Kings ſhould be elected without delay, as the laws required; and the empire of the Heraclidæ no longer lie diſſolved. The Ephori, who were in every point diſpleaſed with the proceeding, but were too weak to reſiſt the violence of thoſe that drove it on; and who

who apprehended alſo, that, in caſe they ſhould refuſe to comply with theſe demands, the young men might be engaged in ſome attempt againſt them; conſented to allow an aſſembly of the people to Machatas: but with regard to the propoſal for reſtoring kingly government, they ſaid, that they would deliberate together concerning it, at ſome future time.

When the people were aſſembled, Machatas preſſed them, in a long diſcourſe, to join their arms with the Ætolians. He boldly charged the Macedonians with many accuſations that were vain and groundleſs: and on the other hand, beſtowed ſuch praiſes on his own Republick, as were not leſs abſurd than falſe. As ſoon as he had ended, the debates that followed were long and vehement. For ſome, ſupporting all that had been urged in favour of the Ætolians, adviſed the aſſembly to accept the alliance that was offered; while others laboured, not leſs warmly, to diſſuade it. After ſome time however, when the oldeſt men roſe up to ſpeak, and reminded the people, on the one hand, of the many favours that had been heaped upon them by Antigonus and the Macedonians, and on the other hand, recounted all the injuries, which they had received from Timæus and Charixenus; when the Ætolians with a numerous army waſted all their country, led their people into ſlavery, and even attempted to take Sparta by ſurprize and force, having brought back the Exiles, to aſſiſt in the deſign; the whole aſſembly was at once prevailed on to embrace the ſentiments that were moſt contrary to the Ætolians, and to remain firm in their alliance with the Macedonians and with Philip. Machatas therefore returned back again to his country, without having obtained the end of his commiſſion.

But thoſe, who had been the authors of the former tumult, reſolved that things ſhould not long remain in their preſent ſtate. Having gained therefore ſome of the young men of the

city to their party, they formed a ſecond attempt, which was indeed moſt horrible and impious. There was a certain Sacrifice, of old inſtitution in the country, in honour of Minerva; at which the cuſtom was, that all the Youth of the city ſhould appear in arms, and walk in proceſſion to the temple; while the Ephori ſtood waiting round the Shrine, ready to perform the ſacred offices. At the time then of this ſolemn feſtival, ſome of the young men that were armed to attend the ceremony, fell ſuddenly upon the Magiſtrates, as they were buſied in the ſacrifice, and ſlew them. Yet ſuch was the ſanctity of this Temple, that it had afforded always an inviolable refuge, even to men that were condemned to die. But ſo little was it now reſpected by theſe daring and inhuman wretches, that they made no ſcruple to pollute the venerable place, with the blood of all the Ephori; and to kill them even at the very altar, and round the ſacred table of the Goddeſs. Afterwards, that they might fully accompliſh all their purpoſe, they killed alſo Gyridas, with others of the oldeſt men. And having forced the reſt, that were averſe to their deſigns, to retire from the city, they choſe new Ephori from their own faction, and immediately concluded an alliance with the Ætolians. The cauſe of all this violence was partly their hatred of the Achæans; partly their ingratitude towards the Macedonians; and in part likewiſe, their ſenſeleſs diſregard of all mankind. To which we may alſo add, what indeed was of the greateſt weight, the affection which they ſtill retained for Cleomenes; and the conſtant expectation which they cheriſhed, that this Prince would return to them again in ſafety. Thus it is that men who are acquainted with the arts of life, and whoſe manners are gentle and engaging, not only win the eſteem and affection of mankind when they are preſent with them; but even in the time of long and diſtant abſence, leave behind them ſuch ſtrong ſparks of inclination and deſire, as are not eaſily extinguiſhed. For not

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to mention other circumſtances, during three whole years which now had paſſed, ſince Cleomenes was forced to deſert his kingdom, the Lacedæmonians, though in other points their State was ſtill adminiſtered according to the ancient laws, had ſhewn not even the leaſt deſire to appoint other kings. But no ſooner had the news of his death arrived at Sparta, than both the people and the Ephori reſolved that ſome ſhould be elected without delay. The Ephori therefore, who belonged, as we have ſaid, to the faction that had cauſed the late diſorders, and concluded an alliance with the Ætolians, made choice of one who had a clear and unconteſted right to bear the office. This was Ageſipolis, who had not yet arrived indeed at perfect age, but was the ſon of Ageſipolis, whoſe father Cleombrotus, when Leonidas was driven from Sparta, had ſucceeded to the kingdom, as being the next in blood to that Prince. At the ſame time they named, as Tutor to the King, Cleomenes, who was the ſon alſo of Cleombrotus, and brother of Ageſipolis. But with regard to the other royal Houſe, though there were now two ſons remaining from a daughter of Hippomedon, by Archidamus the ſon of Eudamidas; and though Hippomedon himſelf was ſtill alive, who was the ſon of Ageſilaus, and grandſon of Eudamidas; and though there were many others alſo, that were allied in a more remote degree to the branches of this family; yet all their claims were diſregarded: and Lycurgus was advanced to be the other King; among whoſe anceſtors, there was none that ever had poſſeſſed the regal dignity. But by giving only a ſingle Talent to each of the Ephori, he became at once a deſcendant from the race of Hercules, and a King of Sparta. So eaſy oftentimes is the purchaſe even of the greateſt honours. But from hence it happened, that not their children or remote poſterity, but themſelves who had made the choice, were the firſt that felt the puniſhment, that was due to their imprudence.

Machatas, being informed of all that had been done in Sparta, returned back again to that city, and preſſed the Ephori and the Kings, to begin the war without delay, againſt the Achæans. He repreſented to them, that this was the only meaſure, by which they could hope effectually to break all contention, and defeat the attempts of thoſe, who, both in Lacedæmon and in Ætolia likewiſe, were ſtill labouring to obſtruct the alliance. And having thus, without great difficulty, accompliſhed his deſign, and engaged theſe fooliſh magiſtrates to approve of all that was propoſed, he went back again to his own country. Lycurgus then drew together a body of troops; and having added to them alſo ſome of the forces of the city, he fell ſuddenly upon the Argian territory, before the people, who were perſuaded that the peace ſtill ſubſiſted, had taken any meaſures for their ſecurity or defence. He made himſelf maſter therefore in the very firſt aſſault of Polichna, Praſiæ, Leucæ, and Cyphanta. He endeavoured alſo to take by ſtorm Glympes and Zarax; but was repulſed in the attempt. After theſe exploits, the Lacedæmonians made publick proclamation of the war. The Eleans alſo were prevailed on by Machatas, who repeated to them the ſame diſcourſe which he had made at Lacedæmon, to turn their arms againſt the Achæans. And thus the Ætolians, finding that all things had conſpired with their deſigns, entered upon the war with alacrity and confidence; while the Achæans on the contrary were dejected and diſtreſſed. For Philip, upon whom their chief ſtrength and hopes were founded, had not yet completed all his preparations: the Epirots ſtill formed pretences for delay: the Meſſenians remained inactive: and laſtly the Ætolians, being thus favoured by the ſenſeleſs conduct of the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, had already as it were incloſed them upon every ſide with war.

The Prætorſhip of Aratus was juſt now ready to expire, and his Son Aratus was appointed to ſucceed him. The

Ætolian

Ætolian Prætor Scopas had performed about half the courſe of his adminiſtration. For the Ætolians were accuſtomed to elect their magiſtrates, immediately after the time of the autumnal Equinox: and the Achæans, at the riſing of the Pleiades. As ſoon then as the younger Aratus had entered upon the duties of his office, the ſpring being now advanced, all things every where began at once to haſten into action. For it was now, that Annibal was preparing to beſiege Saguntum; and that the Romans ſent an army into Illyria, to chaſtiſe Demetrius: that Antiochus, having gained poſſeſſion, by the treachery of Theodotus, of Tyre and Ptolemais, reſolved to uſurp the ſovereignty of Cœleſyria; and that Ptolemy, on the other hand, drew together all his forces to oppoſe him. At the ſame time Lycurgus, following in his conduct the example of Cleomenes, laid ſiege to Athenæum in the Megalopolitan territory: the Achæans collected a numerous body of mercenary troops, both Infantry and Cavalry, to ſecure their country from the war that was ready to ſurround them: and Philip alſo began his march from Macedon, at the head of ten thouſand Macedonians heavy-armed, five thouſand Peltaſtæ, and eight hundred Horſe. And laſtly, while all theſe great and important armaments were thus ready to be carried into action, the Rhodians likewiſe began their war upon the people of Byzantium, from the cauſes which I am now going to relate.

CHAP. V.

BYZANTIUM, of all the cities in the world, is the moſt happy in it's ſituation, with reſpect to the ſea: being not only ſecure on that ſide from all enemies, but poſſeſſed alſo of the means of obtaining every kind of neceſſaries in the greateſt plenty. But with reſpect to the land, there is ſcarcely

ſcarcely any place that has ſo little claim to theſe advantages. With regard to the ſea, the Byzantines, ſtanding cloſe upon the entrance of the Pontus, command ſo abſolutely all that paſſage, that it is not poſſible for any merchant to ſail through it, or return, without their permiſſion: and from hence they are the maſters of all thoſe commodities, which are drawn in various kinds from the countries that lie round this ſea, to ſatisfy the wants or the conveniences, of other men. For among the things that are neceſſary for uſe, they ſupply the Greeks with leather, and with great numbers of very ſerviceable ſlaves. And with regard to thoſe that are eſteemed conveniences, they ſend honey and wax, with all kinds of ſeaſoned and ſalted meats: taking from us in exchange our own ſuperfluous commodities; oil, and every ſort of wine. They ſometimes alſo furniſh us with corn; and ſometimes receive it from us; as the wants of either may require. Now it is certain that the Greeks muſt either be excluded wholly from this commerce, or be deprived at leaſt of all it's chief advantages, if ever the Byzantines ſhould engage in any ill deſigns againſt them, and be joined in friendſhip with the barbarous people of Galatia, or rather with thoſe of Thrace; or even indeed, if they ſhould ever be diſpoſed to leave the country. For as well by reaſon of the extreme narrowneſs of the paſſage, as from the numbers alſo of thoſe barbarians that are ſettled round it, we never ſhould be able to gain an entrance through it into the Pontus. Though the Byzantines therefore are themſelves poſſeſſed of the firſt and beſt advantages of this happy ſituation, which enables them to make both an eaſy and a profitable exchange of their ſuperfluous commodities, and to procure in return, without pain or danger, whatever their own lands fail to furniſh; yet ſince, through their means chiefly, other countries alſo are enabled, as we have ſaid, to obtain many things that are of the greateſt uſe; it ſeems reaſonable, that they ſhould be regarded always by

by the Greeks, as common benefactors; and receive not only favour and acknowledgements, but aſſiſtance likewiſe to repel all attempts, that may be made againſt them by their barbarous neighbours.

But as this city is placed a little beyond the limits of thoſe countries, which are moſt uſually frequented by us; and becauſe the nature and peculiar excellence of it's ſituation have hitherto, upon that account, remained almoſt unknown; it may perhaps be uſeful to explain at large the cauſes, to which it is indebted for thoſe great advantages which it enjoys. For ſince all men are not able to obtain the opportunity, which is firſt to be deſired, of viewing with their eyes the things that are ſingular and worthy of their obſervation, in any diſtant country; I could wiſh however, that at leaſt they might be taught to gain ſome right conception of them, and even to form ſuch an image of them in their minds, as ſhould bear a near reſemblance to the truth.

That then which is called the Pontus, contains in its circumference almoſt twenty-two thouſand ſtadia. It has two mouths, diametrically oppoſite to each other: one, which opens into the Propontis; and the other on the ſide of the Palus Mæotis, whoſe circumference includes about eight thouſand ſtadia. Theſe beds receive the waters of many large rivers, which flow into them from Aſia; and of others likewiſe, more in number, and more conſiderable in their ſize, that come from Europe. The Mæotis, being filled by theſe, diſcharges them again, through the mouth laſt mentioned, into the Pontus: and from thence they ſtill paſs forwards, through the other mouth into the Propontis. The mouth on the ſide of the Mæotis, is called the Cimmerian Boſphorus. It contains about ſixty ſtadia in length, and about thirty in it's breadth; and is in every part of a very inconſiderable depth. The mouth of the Pontus, on the oppoſite ſide, is called the Thracian Boſphorus; and includes in length a

hundred and twenty ſtadia: but the breadth of it is unequal. This mouth, beginning on the ſide of the Propontis, at that ſpace which lies between Chalcedon and Byzantium, whoſe breadth is about fourteen ſtadia, from thence extends towards the Pontus, and is ended at a place called Hieron; in which Jaſon, at his return from Colchis, is ſaid firſt to have offered ſacrifice to the twelve Gods. This place, though it be ſituated in Aſia, is not far removed from Europe; being diſtant, about twelve ſtadia only, from the Temple of Sarapis, which ſtands oppoſite to it, upon the coaſt of Thrace.

There are two cauſes to which it muſt be aſcribed, that the Mæotis and the Pontus diſcharge their waters in continual flow, from their reſpective beds. The firſt, which is obvious, and clear to all, is, that when many rivers fall into a bed, whoſe limits are fixed and circumſcribed, if no opening ſhould be found, through which they may be again diſcharged, the waters, as they are more and more increaſed, muſt ſtill riſe to a greater height, till at laſt they overflow their bounds, and run to fill a larger ſpace, than that into which they were at firſt received: but on the other hand, if there be any free and open paſſage, through which they may be allowed to flow, then all that is ſuperfluous and redundant will of neceſſity be diſcharged that way. The other cauſe is the great quantity of earth and various matter, which the rivers bring down with them after heavy rains. For from hence large banks are formed, which preſs and elevate the waters, and force them in like manner to direct their courſe forwards through the mouths that are open to receive them. And as theſe banks are formed continually, and the rivers alſo continue ſtill to enter, in regular and conſtant flow, the efflux of the waters muſt be conſtant likewiſe, without any ſtop or intermiſſion.

Theſe then are the true cauſes, from whence the waters of the Pontus are continually flowing from their beds: cauſes, not

not derived from the report of merchants; but founded upon fact and nature; which afford indeed, in all inquiries, the ſureſt and the moſt convincing evidence. But ſince we have advanced ſo far in this digreſſion, inſtead of being ſatisfied with that haſty negligence, with which thoſe, who hitherto have treated of theſe ſubjects, muſt almoſt all be charged, let us endeavour rather, not only to deſcribe with accuracy the effects that are produced, but to add ſuch a demonſtration alſo of the cauſes from whence they ſeverally ariſe, as may leave nothing doubtful or obſcure. For in the preſent times, in which all parts of the earth are become acceſſible either by land or ſea, we ought by no means to have recourſe, in things that are unknown, to the fabulous reports of poets and mythologiſts, and thus vainly labour to eſtabliſh dark and diſputable points, by a kind of teſtimony, which, as Heraclitus has remarked, deſerves no credit; but ſhould be careful rather to reſt the whole authority of that which we relate, upon ſuch facts alone, as are drawn from the actual view, and real knowledge, of the places, which we at any time may take occaſion to deſcribe.

I ſay then, that both the Palus Mæotis and the Pontus have, for a long time paſt, received continually great quantities of earth and matter, which are ſtill heaped together; and by which, in the courſe of time, their beds muſt be entirely filled: unleſs ſome change ſhould happen in the places, or the rivers ceaſe to bring down theſe impediments. For ſince time is infinite; but the limits of theſe beds circumſcribed and fixed; it is manifeſt, that any ſuch acceſſion, how ſmall ſoever, if it be conſtant only and never diſcontinued, muſt in the end be ſufficient for this purpoſe. Nor is it poſſible indeed, that it ſhould ever happen otherwiſe in nature, but that when any thing, which itſelf is finite, continues ſtill, in the courſe of infinite ſucceſſion, to receive any new ſupply, or to ſuffer any conſtant diminution, it muſt in the end arrive at

it's fulleſt poſſible increaſe, or on the other hand, be waſted and deſtroyed; even though the addition, or the loſs, ſhould be made by the leaſt conceivable degrees. But ſince it is not any ſmall and inconſiderable portion, but, on the contrary, a very great quantity of matter, that is poured continually into theſe two beds, the conſequence, of which we are ſpeaking, muſt be conſidered, not as a remote event, but rather as one that is likely very ſoon to happen. I might almoſt ſay, that it has already happened. For the Mæotis is indeed ſo nearly filled, that in moſt parts of it the water ſcarcely exceeds the depth of fifteen or of twenty feet: ſo that large veſſels cannot paſs ſecurely through it without a pilot. We may alſo add; that the Mæotis, as all writers have declared, was anciently a Sea, and flowed intermingled with the Pontus: whereas at this time, it is known to be a ſweet and ſtagnant Lake; the waters of the Pontus being ſtill forced backwards, and excluded from it, by the banks of ſand; while the rivers continue ſtill to enter, and poſſeſs all the ſpace.

The ſame event muſt happen likewiſe in the Pontus. And indeed this alſo has in part already happened: though by reaſon of the largeneſs of the bed, there are few that have yet perceived it. But a ſlight degree of attention will even now clearly ſhew the truth of this opinion. For the Iſter, which flows from Europe, and diſcharges itſelf into the Pontus by many mouths, has already, with the ſand and other matter which it brings down with it, formed a bank which is called by the ſeamen Stethe, of almoſt a thouſand ſtadia in it's length, and at the diſtance of one day's courſe from land; againſt which the veſſels that paſs through the Pontus, as they are ſailing in mid-ſea, often ſtrike unwarily in the night. The cauſe to which it muſt be aſcribed, that this Bank, inſtead of being ſettled near the ſhore, is puſhed forward to ſo great a diſtance from it, is plainly this which follows. As long as the rivers retain ſo much of their impetuoſity and force, as

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is ſufficient to ſurmount the reſiſtance of the ſea, and to make it yield it's place, ſo long likewiſe, the ſand, and every thing beſides that is brought down with them, muſt ſtill be driven forwards, and not ſuffered either to ſtop or to ſubſide. But when the violence and rapidity of the current are once checked and broken by the depth and quantity of the oppoſing waters, then the heavy earth, which before was wafted in the ſtream, is by it's own nature ſunk towards the bottom, and ſettled there. And from hence it happens, that thoſe banks of ſand, which are formed by large and rapid rivers, are thrown together either at a diſtance from the ſhore, or in ſome deep water near it: while thoſe, on the contrary, that are brought down by ſmall and gentle ſtreams, lie cloſe to the very entrance of the mouths, from whence they are diſcharged. This remark may be confirmed, by that which is known to happen after the fall of ſtrong and violent rains. For at thoſe times, even the ſmalleſt rivers, having been once enabled to ſurmount the reſiſtance of the waters at their entrance, force their way far into the ſea, and ſtill drive the ſands before them, to a greater or more moderate diſtance, in proportion to their reſpective ſtrength and force.

With regard to that which we have affirmed, of the ſize and vaſt extent of that Bank which was juſt now mentioned, as well as of the great quantities in general both of ſtones, of wood, and of earth, which are conveyed continually into the Pontus by theſe rivers, there is no man ſurely ſo weak in judgement, as to entertain any kind of doubt concerning the poſſibility of the facts. For we ſee that torrents, even not the moſt conſiderable in ſtrength or violence, open deep trenches for their paſſage, and force their way even through the midſt of mountains, carrying with them every kind of matter, earth, and ſtones; and ſo covering and filling up the countries over which they paſs, that they are ſcarcely known to be the ſame, having aſſumed a face far different from their own. It cannot

therefore be thought incredible or ſtrange, that rivers of the largeſt ſize, and which alſo flow continually, ſhould produce the effects which we have above deſcribed: and roll together ſuch vaſt quantities of matter, as muſt in the end entirely fill the Pontus. For I ſpeak not of it, as an event that is barely probable, but as of one that cannot fail to happen: of which this circumſtance may alſo ſerve as a kind of antecedent proof. As much as the waters of the Mæotis are now ſweeter than the Pontus, ſo much ſweeter alſo is the latter than the waters of our Sea. Now from hence we may conclude, that when the time, in which the Mæotis was completely filled, and that which may be requiſite for filling up the Pontus, ſhall ſtand in the ſame proportion to each other as the different greatneſs of their reſpective beds, the latter likewiſe will then become a freſh and ſtanding Lake, as the former is now known to be. But this indeed will happen ſo much ſooner alſo in the Pontus, as the rivers which it receives are more in number, than thoſe that fall into the Mæotis, and of larger ſize.

This then may be ſufficient to ſatisfy the doubts of thoſe, who are unwilling to believe, that the Pontus is now continually receiving a large increaſe of matter within it's bed; and that in the courſe of time it muſt be entirely filled, and this great Sea become a Lake and ſtagnant marſh. From theſe reflections we may alſo learn to be ſecure, againſt all the monſtrous fictions, and lying wonders, which uſually are reported to us by thoſe that ſail upon the ſea; and no longer be compelled through ignorance to ſwallow greedily like children every ſenſeleſs tale: but having now ſome traces of the truth impreſſed upon our minds, may be able to form always ſome certain judgement, by which we may diſtinguiſh fact from falſehood. We now return again to deſcribe the ſituation of Byzantium, from whence we made this digreſſion.

The Strait, which joins the Pontus with the Propontis, contains

contains in length a hundred and twenty ſtadia, as we have already mentioned. The extreme limits of it are, on the one ſide towards the Pontus, a place called Hieron; and on the other, towards the Propontis, that Space that lies between Byzantium and Chalcedon. Between theſe two boundaries, there is a Promontory, called Hermæum, which advances far into the ſea. It ſtands on the ſide of Europe, in the moſt narrow part of all the Strait: for the diſtance of it from the coaſt of Aſia does not exceed five ſtadia. It was in this place, that Darius is reported to have laid a bridge acroſs the ſea, in his expedition againſt the Scythians. Now the water, coming from the Pontus, at firſt flows on in the ſame uniform and unbroken courſe, becauſe the coaſt on either ſide is ſmooth and equal. But as it approaches near Hermæum, being now incloſed, as we have ſaid, in the moſt narrow part of all the Strait, and driven with violence againſt this promontory, it is ſuddenly ſtruck back, and forced over to the oppoſite ſhore of Aſia. From thence it again returns to the ſide of Europe, and breaks againſt the Heſtiæan Promontories. From theſe again, it is once more hurried back to Aſia, to the place called Bos; where Io is fabled by the poets to have firſt touched the land, when ſhe paſſed this Strait. And laſtly, falling back again from Bos, it directs it's courſe towards Byzantium: and there breaking into eddies, a ſmall part of it winds itſelf into a Pool, which is called, the Horn; while the reſt, and greater part, flows away towards Chalcedon, upon the oppoſite ſhore, which however it in vain attempts to reach. For as the Strait is in this part of a greater breadth, and becauſe the ſtrength alſo of the current has already been ſo often broken, it is now no longer able to flow, and to return in ſhort and ſharp angles as before; but falling away obliquely from Chalcedon, takes it's courſe forwards along the middle of the Strait.

Now from hence it happens, that Byzantium, in point of ſituation,

ſituation, poſſeſſes great advantages, of which Chalcedon is entirely deſtitute: though, when we only take a view of theſe two cities, they appear to be in this reſpect alike and equal. But the truth is, that a veſſel ſailing towards Chalcedon, cannot gain the port without the greateſt difficulty; while on the other hand, the current itſelf will waft us, even whether we will or not, into the harbour of Byzantium. For thus when any veſſels attempt to paſs from Chalcedon to Byzantium, as the current will not ſuffer them to croſs the Strait in a direct and even line, they firſt ſteer obliquely towards Bos and Chryſopolis; which laſt city was in former times poſſeſſed by the Athenians, who, by the advice of Alcibiades, firſt exacted there a certain Impoſt from all veſſels that ſailed into the Pontus; and from thence, committing themſelves at once to the current of the water, they are conveyed without any pain or difficulty to Byzantium. Nor is the navigation leſs favourable and commodious, on the other ſide alſo of this city. For whether we are ſailing from the Helleſpont towards Byzantium before a ſouthern wind, by taking our route along the ſhore of Europe, we perform the voyage with eaſe: or whether, on the contrary, we are carried by a northern gale from Byzantium towards the Helleſpont, keeping ſtill our courſe along the ſame coaſt of Europe, we enter without any danger the Strait of the Propontis, between Seſtus and Abydus; and may alſo return again with ſafety, in the ſame manner as before. But the people of Chalcedon are ſo far from being poſſeſſed of theſe advantages, that, on the contrary, they can never ſteer their courſe along their own proper coaſt, becauſe the ſhore is full of bays and promontories, and the land of Cyzicus eſpecially runs far out into the ſea. In ſailing therefore from the Helleſpont towards Chalcedon, they are forced to keep cloſe along the ſhore of Europe, till they arrive very near Byzantium: and from thence they firſt turn away, and direct their courſe acroſs the Strait, to gain their own harbour;

bour; which is indeed no eaſy taſk, by reaſon of the currents which have before been mentioned. And thus again, when they deſign to ſail from Chalcedon to the Helleſpont, taking ſtill their courſe along the ſhore of Europe, they are at no time able to ſteer directly over from their own port to the coaſt of Thrace: ſince, beſides the current that obſtructs their paſſage, they are alſo forced to ſtruggle againſt thoſe winds, which alike are contrary to the courſe that they would wiſh to take. For either they are driven by the South too far towards the Pontus; or, on the other hand, are turned from the direction of their route by the northern wind, which blows againſt them from that ſea. Nor is it poſſible to ſail from Chalcedon to Byzantium, or to return back again from the coaſt of Thrace, without being met by the one or other of theſe winds. Such then, as we have now remarked, are the advantages, which the Byzantines derive from the ſituation of their city, with reſpect to the ſea. We ſhall next conſider alſo the diſadvantages, to which the ſame ſituation has expoſed them, on the ſide towards the land.

As their country then is every way ſurrounded and incloſed, even from the Pontus to the Ægean Sea, by the barbarous tribes of Thrace, they are from thence involved in a very difficult as well as conſtant war. Nor is it poſſible, by any force which they can raiſe, that they ſhould ever free themſelves entirely from theſe enemies. For when they have conquered one, three other States, more powerful than the firſt, ſtand ready to invade their country. And even though they ſhould ſubmit to enter into treaties, and pay heavy tributes, they ſtill are left in the ſame condition as before. For the conceſſions, that are made to any ſingle power, never fail to raiſe againſt them many enemies in the room of one. Thus are they worn and waſted by a war, from which they never can get free: and which, on the other hand, they are ſcarcely able to ſuſtain. For what danger is ſo cloſe and preſſing, as

a faithleſs neighbour? or what war more terrible, than that which is practiſed by barbarians? From hence it happens, that this people, beſides that they are doomed to ſtruggle againſt thoſe calamities which are the uſual conſequence of war, are alſo expoſed continually to that kind of torment, which Tantalus, among the Poets, is feigned to ſuffer. For when they have employed great pains to cultivate their lands, which are by nature alſo very fertile, and the rich fruits ſtand ready to repay their labours; on a ſudden theſe barbarians, pouring down upon the country, deſtroy one part, and carry away the reſt: and only leave to the Byzantines, after all their coſt and toil, the pain of beholding their beſt harveſts waſted; while their beauty alſo adds an aggravation to the grief, and renders the ſenſe of their calamity more ſharp and unſupportable.

The Byzantines however, amidſt all the diſtreſſes of theſe wars, the very continuance of which had rendered them perhaps in ſome degree more eaſy to be born, never changed their conduct with reſpect to the States of Greece. But afterwards, when the Gauls, that were led by Comontorius, arrived alſo in their country, and began to turn their arms againſt them, they were then reduced at once to very great extremities. Theſe Gauls were a part of that numerous army, which had left their native ſeats under the command of Brennus. But having happily eſcaped the general ſlaughter that was made of their companions in the neighbourhood of Delphi, and arriving near the Helleſpont, they were ſo much charmed with the beauty of the country that lay round Byzantium, that they reſolved to ſettle there, and not paſs over into Aſia. And having in a ſhort time ſubdued the neighbouring inhabitants of Thrace, and fixed their ſeat of government at Tyle, they ſeemed to threaten Byzantium with the laſt deſtruction. The Byzantines therefore, in the firſt incurſions that were made by Comontorius upon their country, paid ſometimes three

three and five thouſand, and ſometimes even ten thouſand pieces of gold, to ſave their lands from being plundered. And afterwards, they ſubmitted to pay a yearly tribute of fourſcore talents; which was continued to the time of Cavarus, who was the laſt of all their kings. For the Gauls were then conquered by the Thracians in their turn, and the whole race extirpated.

During this time, the Byzantines, unable to ſupport the burthen of theſe heavy tributes, implored aſſiſtance from the States of Greece. And when the greater part of theſe entirely ſlighted their ſollicitations, they were forced at laſt, through mere neceſſity, to exact a certain Impoſt from all veſſels that ſailed into the Pontus. But the merchants, beginning ſoon to feel the loſs and inconvenience that aroſe to them from this proceeding, exclaimed aloud againſt the injuſtice of it, and all joined to blame the Rhodians for permitting it: for theſe were at that time the moſt powerful people upon the ſea. From hence aroſe the War, which we are now going to deſcribe. For the Rhodians, being excited partly by their own particular loſs, and partly by the wrong which their neighbours were forced alſo to ſuſtain, having ſecured to themſelves the aſſiſtance of their allies, ſent ambaſſadors to Byzantium, and demanded that this Impoſt ſhould be aboliſhed. But the Byzantines paid no regard to the demand: but on the contrary, adhered to the opinion of Hecatondorus and Olympiodorus, who were then the firſt in the adminiſtration of the city; and who maintained, in a publick conference with the ambaſſadors, that what they had done was juſt and reaſonable. The ambaſſadors were forced therefore to return, without having obtained the end of their commiſſion: and the Rhodians immediately declared war againſt the Byzantines. They ſent ſome deputies alſo to king Pruſias, whom they knew to be inflamed by an old reſentment againſt the people of Byzantium; and preſſed him to join his forces with them

in the war. The Byzantines made on their part all the neceſſary preparations: and ſent to demand aſſiſtance alſo from Attalus and Achæus. The firſt of theſe was heartily diſpoſed to ſupport their intereſts: but becauſe he was now confined within the limits of his own hereditary kingdom by the victories of Achæus, his power was ſmall and inconſiderable. But Achæus, who was at this time maſter of the countries that were on this ſide of mount Taurus, and who lately had aſſumed the Regal title, promiſed to aſſiſt them with all his forces; and by this aſſurance, ſtruck no ſmall terror into Pruſias and the Rhodians, while on the other hand he raiſed the courage of the Byzantines, and filled them with the faireſt expectations of ſucceſs.

This Prince Achæus was nearly allied in blood to Antiochus, who at this time reigned in Syria: and had gained for himſelf the ſovereignty of all thoſe countries that were juſt now mentioned, in the following manner.

When Seleucus, the father of Antiochus, was dead, and the kingdom had devolved upon the eldeſt of his Sons, who was alſo called Seleucus, Achæus being allied, as we have ſaid, to the Royal Houſe, attended the young King in the expedition which he made into the provinces on this ſide of mount Taurus, about two years before the times of which we are ſpeaking. For ſcarcely was he ſeated upon the throne, when he received the news, that Attalus had poſſeſſed himſelf by force of all this country. He reſolved therefore to attempt without delay to recover again his paternal rights. But when he had paſſed the mountains with a numerous army, he was there treacherouſly killed by Nicanor, and a certain Gaul whoſe name was Apaturius. Achæus, having, as his duty then required, revenged this murther by the death of both the traitors, and taken upon himſelf the command of all the forces, with the entire adminiſtration of the war, diſplayed ſo much true greatneſs, as well as wiſdom in his conduct, that, though

though all circumſtances highly favoured him, and the troops themſelves conſpired together with the times, to place the diadem upon his head, he perſiſted to refuſe that honour; and reſerved the country for Antiochus, the youngeſt of the children of Seleucus: for whoſe ſake alſo, he ſtill went on to extend his conqueſts, and to regain the places that were loſt. But when the ſucceſs began at laſt to exceed even his greateſt hopes; when he had not only ſubdued the country by his arms, but ſhut up Attalus himſelf in Pergamus; being then no longer able to maintain his ſteadineſs, upon the height to which he was thus raiſed by fortune, he fell aſide at once from virtue, and having uſurped the diadem and royal name, from that time was regarded as the greateſt and moſt formidable Prince, of all that were on this ſide of mount Taurus. Upon his aſſiſtance therefore the Byzantines with good reaſon built their ſtrongeſt hopes; and entered with confidence into the war, againſt Pruſias and the Rhodians.

With regard to Pruſias, he had long before this time accuſed the people of Byzantium, of having treated him with contempt and ſcorn. For when they had decreed ſome Statues in his honour, inſtead of taking care to erect them with all the uſual rites of conſecration, they on the contrary made afterwards a jeſt of their own Decree, and ſuffered it to lie neglected and forgotten. He was alſo much diſſatisfied with the pains which they had employed, to procure a peace between Attalus and Achæus; which muſt have proved in all points hurtful to his intereſts. Another cauſe of his reſentment was, that the Byzantines had deputed ſome perſons from their city, to join with Attalus in the celebration of the Games that were ſacred to Minerva; but had ſent none to Him, when he held the ſolemn feaſt of the Soteria. Incenſed therefore by a paſſion which had long been working in his mind, he ſeized with joy the occaſion that was offered; and reſolved in concert with the ambaſſadors, that while the Rhodians preſſed

the Byzantines upon the ſea, himſelf would carry on the war by land againſt them. Such were the cauſes and ſuch the commencement of the war between the Rhodians and Byzantines.

The Byzantines, encouraged, as we have ſaid, by the hope of that aſſiſtance which they expected from Achæus, at firſt performed their part with great alacrity and ſpirit. They ſent to invite Tibites back from Macedon; imagining, that through his means, they ſhould be able to excite ſome diſorders in Bithynia, and involve Pruſias in the ſame dangers and alarms, as thoſe with which they were threatened by him. For this Prince, having begun the war with all that vigour, which his reſentment had inſpired, had already taken Hieron, which ſtood at the very entrance of the Strait, and which the Byzantines, on account of it's happy ſituation, had purchaſed not long before at a great expence; that from hence they might be able to protect the merchants that traded into the Pontus, and ſecure the importation of their ſlaves, together with the other traffick alſo of that Sea. He made himſelf maſter alſo of that part of Myſia, on the ſide of Aſia, which for a courſe of many years had belonged to the Byzantines. At the ſame time the Rhodians, having equipped ſix veſſels of their own, and received four more from their allies, ſteered their courſe towards the Helleſpont. And when they had ſtationed nine of the ſhips near Seſtus, to intercept the veſſels that ſhould attempt to paſs into the Pontus, Xenophantus, who commanded all the fleet, ſailed forward in the tenth, and approached near Byzantium; with deſign to try whether the Byzantines might be inclined by the ſight of danger to deſiſt from their firſt deſign. But perceiving that his expectations were in no way anſwered, he returned and joined the other ſhips, and with the whole fleet ſailed back again to Rhodes. In the mean while the Byzantines preſſed Achæus to join them with his forces: and ſent ſome perſons into Macedon,

cedon, to bring away Tibites; who was the Uncle of King Pruſias, and was judged, on that account, to hold as fair a claim as the King himſelf to the ſovereignty of Bithynia.

But when the Rhodians remarked the firmneſs, with which the Byzantines had reſolved to carry on the war, they had recourſe to a very wiſe expedient, by which they at laſt accompliſhed all their purpoſe. They ſaw that this great confidence, which the Byzantines had aſſumed, was founded only on the ſuccours which they expected from Achæus. They knew likewiſe, that Andromachus, the father of this Prince, had for ſome time been detained a priſoner at Alexandria, and that Achæus was very anxious for his ſafety. They formed therefore the deſign of ſending an embaſſy to Ptolemy, to deſire that Andromachus might be releaſed. They had indeed before this time ſlightly urged the ſame requeſt. But now they preſſed it with the greateſt earneſtneſs; imagining, that when Achæus ſhould be indebted to them for a ſervice ſo conſiderable, he muſt be forced in gratitude to conſent to every thing that they ſhould afterwards demand. When the ambaſſadors arrived, they found that Ptolemy was willing ſtill to detain Andromachus, from whom he expected to draw great advantage, in the conjunctures that were likely to ariſe. For ſome diſputes were now ſubſiſting between Antiochus and himſelf. The power of Achæus likewiſe, who lately had declared himſelf an independent Sovereign, was ſuch as could not fail to bring conſiderable weight, in certain matters of importance. And this priſoner not only was the Father of Achæus, but the Brother alſo of Laodice, the wife of Seleucus. But on the other hand, as the King was ſtrongly inclined to gratify the Rhodians in all their wiſhes, and to favour all their intereſts, he at laſt conſented to deliver Andromachus into their hands, that they might reſtore him to his Son. They reſtored him accordingly without delay: and having decreed alſo certain honours to Achæus, they at once deprived the people of Byzantium

zantium of their ſtrongeſt hope. Tibites alſo died, as he was returning back from Macedon. This fatal accident, with that which had already happened, entirely diſconcerted all the meaſures, and damped the ardour of the Byzantines. But Pruſias on the contrary conceived new hopes; and maintained the war againſt them, upon the coaſt of Aſia, with great vigour and ſucceſs: while the Thracians alſo, whom he had engaged into his ſervice, preſſed them ſo cloſely on the ſide of Europe, that they dared not even to appear without their gates. Perceiving therefore, that all their expectations were deſtroyed and loſt, and being haraſſed thus by their enemies on every ſide, they began now only to conſider, by what means they might at laſt be diſengaged from the war with honour.

Happily about this time Cavarus, King of the Gauls, came to Byzantium. And as he wiſhed with no ſmall earneſtneſs, that theſe diſputes might be accommodated, he employed his pains with ſuch ſucceſs, that both Pruſias and the Byzantines conſented to the terms that were propoſed. When the Rhodians were informed of the zeal which Cavarus had ſhewn to procure a peace, and that Pruſias had ſubmitted to his mediation, they were willing on their part alſo to put an end to the war; on condition however, that they ſhould be ſuffered to accompliſh their firſt deſign. They deputed therefore Aridices as their ambaſſador to Byzantium; and at the ſame time ſent Polemocles with three triremes, to offer, as we expreſs it, the Spear or the Caduceus, to the choice of the Byzantines. But on their firſt arrival, the peace was inſtantly concluded; Cothon, the ſon of Calligiton, being at this time Hieromnemon of Byzantium. With reſpect to the Rhodians, the terms were ſimply theſe. "The Byzantines ſhall exact no impoſt from the veſſels that paſs into the Pontus. Upon this condition, the Rhodians and their allies will remain in peace wth the people of Byzantium." With Pruſias, the Treaty was concluded

cluded in the words that follow: "There ſhall be perpetual peace and friendſhip between Pruſias and the Byzantines. The Byzantines ſhall not commit hoſtilities of any kind againſt Pruſias, nor Pruſias againſt the Byzantines. Pruſias ſhall reſtore to the Byzantines without any ranſom, all the lands and fortreſſes, the people and the priſoners that have been taken or ſubdued. He ſhall reſtore the veſſels alſo that were taken in the beginning of the war: together with the arms that were found in any of the fortreſſes; and all the timber, tiles, and marble, that were carried away from Hieron, or from the country round it." For Pruſias, dreading the arrival of Tibites, had removed from all the fortreſſes whatever was fit for any uſe. It was added in the laſt place; "that Pruſias ſhould compel the Bithynians to reſtore all that had been taken from the men who were employed to cultivate the lands, in that part of Myſia which belonged to the Byzantines." Such was the beginning, and ſuch the end of the War of Pruſias and the Rhodians, againſt the people of Byzantium.

After theſe tranſactions, the Cnoſſians deputed ſome ambaſſadors to the Rhodians, and requeſted that they would ſend to them the fleet that was under the command of Polemocles, together with three open boats. But when theſe veſſels arrived upon the coaſt of Crete, the Eleuthernæans, ſuſpecting that ſome miſchief was deſigned againſt them, becauſe one of their citizens had been killed by Polemocles to gratify the Cnoſſians, at firſt expoſtulated with the Rhodians concerning this proceeding, and afterwards declared war againſt them. Not long before this time, the Lyttians alſo were involved in the worſt calamities of war. And indeed the whole Iſle of Crete had been lately made the ſcene of very great diſorders, which were occaſioned in the following manner.

The Cnoſſians and Gortynians, having joined together their forces, had made themſelves maſters of all the places in the

Iſland, Lyttus alone excepted. And when this ſingle city ſtill refuſed to ſubmit, they reſolved to conquer it by force, and to puniſh the inhabitants with the laſt deſtruction; that thus they might ſtrike a terror into the reſt of Crete. At firſt then, all the people of the iſland were engaged in this deſign, and turned their arms againſt the Lyttians. But after ſome time, jealouſies and diſcontent, having ſprung, as it often happens among the Cretans, from ſmall and inconſiderable cauſes, grew at laſt to an open and declared diſſenſion, and broke the force of this confederacy. For the Polyrrhenians, the Ceretæ, the Lampæans, the Orians, and the Arcadians, ſeparated themſelves with one conſent from their alliance with the Cnoſſians, and reſolved to ſupport the Lyttians. Among the Gortynians alſo, while the oldeſt men adhered ſtill firmly to the Cnoſſians, the young men, on the other hand, contended, with equal warmth, in favour of the Lyttians. The Cnoſſians, being greatly alarmed by this ſudden revolt of all their chief allies, called in to their aſſiſtance a thouſand mercenary ſoldiers from Ætolia. As ſoon as theſe arrived, the oldeſt men among the Gortynians, having firſt gained poſſeſſion of the citadel, and received into it the Cnoſſians and Ætolians, killed or drove out all the young men, and delivered their city to the Cnoſſians. And not long afterwards, when the Lyttians had led out all their forces, to make incurſions upon the territories of their enemies, the Cnoſſians, having received notice of their abſence, marched in haſte, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Lyttus, when it was deſtitute of all defence. And having ſent the women and the children away to Cnoſſus, they ſet fire to the city, pillaged, and razed it to the ground. The Lyttians, returning from their expedition, and perceiving what had happened, were ſo ſtruck with conſternation and deſpair, that not one among them had the courage to ſet his foot within the city. But when they had all marched round it, deploring with loud groans and lamentations

tations the ruin of their country and their own unhappy fate, they again turned back, and retired for refuge to the Lampæans. They were received by theſe with all the marks of friendſhip and affection: and being thus in one day's time, from citizens become ſtrangers, without laws or city, they continued afterwards to carry on the war againſt the Cnoſſians in conjunction with the reſt of the allies. Thus, in a manner moſt aſtoniſhing and ſtrange, Lyttus, a colony from Lacedæmon, the moſt ancient city of the iſland, and whoſe people, deſcended from the Spartan race, were confeſſed to be the braveſt of all that were produced in Crete, was at once ſunk and loſt in irrecoverable ruin.

The Polyrrhenians, the Lampæans, and the reſt of the allies, having conſidered that the Ætolians, from whom the Cnoſſians had received their mercenary forces, were at this time engaged in war againſt the Achæans and king Philip, ſent ſome deputies to theſe, to deſire that they would enter into an alliance with them, and ſend ſome troops to their aſſiſtance. To this requeſt both Philip and the Achæans readily conſented: and having received them into the general confederacy, they ſent ſoon afterwards to their aſſiſtance, four hundred Illyrians under the command of Plator, two hundred Achæans, and a hundred Phocæans. The Polyrrhenians, having obtained theſe ſuccours, were now able to maintain the war with ſo great vigour, that they ſoon forced the Eleuthernæans, the Cydoniatæ, and the Apteræans, to keep cloſe behind their walls; and at laſt compelled them to join their party, and deſert the alliance of the Cnoſſians. After this ſucceſs, they ſent in return to Philip and the Achæans, five hundred Cretans; as the Cnoſſians alſo, not long before, had ſent a thouſand of their troops to the Ætolians; to aſſiſt them ſeverally in the war in which they were engaged. The young men likewiſe, that had been driven from Gortyna, having gained poſſeſſion of the port of Phæſtia, and afterwards of

their own harbour alſo, maintained their poſts with the greateſt intrepidity; and from thence carried on the war without remiſſion againſt the old Gortynians that were maſters of the city. Such was the condition of affairs in Crete.

About this time alſo, Mithridates began that war againſt the Sinopeans, which was indeed the ſource and firſt occaſion of all thoſe great calamities that afterwards befel this people. Upon this occaſion they ſent an embaſſy to Rhodes, to ſollicit ſome aſſiſtance. The Rhodians, having made choice of three among their own citizens, delivered to them a hundred and forty thouſand Drachmæ; that from thence the Sinopeans might be furniſhed with the ſtores that were neceſſary for the war. From this ſum they were ſupplied with ten thouſand caſks of wine; three hundred pounds of twiſted hair, and one hundred pounds of ſtrings, all prepared for uſe; a thouſand ſuits of armour; three thouſand pieces of coined gold; and four catapults, with ſome engineers. The ambaſſadors having received theſe ſtores, returned again in haſte to Sinope. For the Sinopeans were now filled with the greateſt apprehenſions; and were perſuaded that Mithridates would at once inveſt them both by land and ſea. They haſtened therefore to make ſuch a diſpoſition of their forces, as might ſecure the city on both ſides againſt the danger of a ſiege.

Sinope is ſituate in a Peninſula, which extends into the ſea, upon the right ſide of the Pontus, as we ſail towards the Phaſis. It ſtands upon the Iſthmus of the Peninſula; and covers the whole extremity of the land, in the part which is connected with the continent of Aſia, and which contains about two ſtadia only in it's breadth. The Peninſula itſelf, as it falls down towards the coaſt, is all flat and open: but the borders of it, that are neareſt to the ſea, are rough, unequal, and very difficult of acceſs. The Sinopeans therefore, being apprehenſive that Mithridates would inveſt them on the ſide of Aſia, and at the ſame time land ſome forces from the ſea upon

the oppoſite ſide, and poſſeſs himſelf of the open plain, together with all the poſts that might command the city, began to fortify the circuit of the coaſt; driving ſharp ſtakes into the ground, and throwing up intrenchments, in every part in which the enemy could attempt to land; and diſtributing their machines and troops into all the advantageous poſts. And indeed, as this Peninſula is of very moderate extent, a ſmall body of forces may at all times be ſufficient for it's defence. But we ſhall here leave the Sinopeans; and return again to the Social War.

CHAP. VI.

PHILIP, beginning his march from Macedon with all the forces, advanced towards Theſſaly and Epirus, with deſign to enter that way into Ætolia. At the ſame time Alexander and Dorimachus, having conceived ſome hopes of being able to take Ægira by ſurprize, drew together a body of twelve hundred Ætolians to Oenanthia, a city of Ætolia, which ſtood oppoſite to the before-mentioned city: and having prepared ſome veſſels for their tranſport, they waited for the proper time to paſs the Gulph, and carry their purpoſe into execution. For a certain ſoldier, who had deſerted the ſervice of the Ætolians, and for ſome time paſt reſided in Ægira, having remarked that the guards, who were poſted at the gate which opened on the ſide of Ægium, were often drunk with wine, and remiſs in all their duty, had frequently importuned Dorimachus, whom he knew to be ſingularly formed for conducting all ſuch enterprizes, to take advantage of this negligence, and to enter by ſurprize into the city. Ægira is ſituated in Peloponneſus, near the Gulph of Corinth, between Sycion and Ægium, upon hills that are rough and difficult of acceſs. It looks towards Parnaſſus, and the country that is extended

round that mountain, on the oppoſite ſide of the Gulph; and is diſtant from the ſea about ſeven ſtadia. When the proper time was come, Dorimachus, having embarked his forces, ſailed away by night, and caſt anchor in the river that ran near the city: and from thence, accompanied by Alexander, and by Archidamus the ſon of Pantaleon, he directed his march towards Ægira, by the way that led from Ægium. At the ſame time the deſerter alſo, who had formed the project, took with him twenty of the braveſt ſoldiers; and having, by ſome private roads with which he was acquainted, gained the ſummit of the hills before the reſt, he entered the city through an Aqueduct, and finding all the guards buried faſt in ſleep, killed them even in their beds, broke the bars of the gates with hatchets, and ſet them open to the enemy. The Ætolians entered in crouds together, exulting in their ſucceſs; and began to act, as if the victory had already been their own. But this raſh confidence proved afterwards the very cauſe of ſafety to the people of Ægira, and of deſtruction to themſelves; who were fooliſhly perſuaded, that in order to be maſters of a city, it was ſufficient only to be within the gates. Under this belief, when they had kept together in a body for ſome little time in the publick place, as the day began now to appear, they were no longer able to reſtrain their appetite, but ſpread themſelves through all the city, in ſearch of plunder, and forced their way into the houſes, to ſack and pillage them. Thoſe therefore of the citizens, who ſaw the enemy in their houſes, before they had any notice of their approach, were ſtruck with conſternation, and fled in haſte out of the city, not doubting but that the Ætolians were already maſters of the place. But the reſt, to whom the danger had not reached, being alarmed in time by the diſtant noiſe, ran together for their defence, and all took their way towards the Citadel. And as their numbers grew continually, ſo their courage alſo and their confidence increaſed: while on the other

other hand the body of the Ætolians, from which many, as we have ſaid, had fallen away, and diſperſed themſelves on every ſide in ſearch of plunder, became more and more diſordered and diminiſhed. When Dorimachus therefore perceived the danger to which he was now expoſed, having again collected all the troops together, he led them on towards the Citadel; in the hope, that by one bold and vigorous effort he ſhould ſtrike the enemy with terror, and force them inſtantly to retreat. But the Ægirates, having encouraged each other by mutual exhortations, ſuſtained the charge with the greateſt bravery. And as the citadel was not fortified by any wall, man with man, every one was engaged in cloſe and ſingle fight. The conteſt therefore was for ſome time ſuch as might be expected from the condition of the combatants. For as the one were ſtruggling in the laſt defence of their children and their country, ſo the others had no way to eſcape with ſafety, but by victory. At laſt however, the Ætolians were conſtrained to fly: and the Ægirates, taking care to ſeize the very moment in which they firſt began to yield, preſſed upon them with ſuch force and fury, that the greater part were thrown down in heaps together at the gate, and were trodden under foot, in the haſte and conſternation of their flight. Alexander was killed in the action, and Archidamus ſtifled among the crouds, that preſſed to gain their paſſage through the gate. The reſt either fell in that diſorder, or were hurried down the precipices, and there loſt their lives. A ſmall number only gained their ſhips, and were ſaved in a manner the moſt diſhonourable; having thrown away their arms, and carrying nothing back but diſappointment and deſpair. Thus the citizens of Ægira, by their courage and intrepid firmneſs, recovered again their country, which, through their negligence, they had almoſt loſt.

About the ſame time Euripidas, who had been ſent by the Ætolians to command the forces of the Eleans, made incurſions upon

upon the lands of Dyme, Pharæ, and Tritæa; and having gained a very great booty, was preparing to return back again to Elis; when Micus a Dymæan, who was alſo the Lieutenant of the Achæan Prætor, drew together the troops of all thoſe provinces, with deſign to purſue the enemy, and haraſs them in their retreat. But as he advanced without ſufficient caution, he fell into an ambuſcade, in which forty of his men were killed, and two hundred taken priſoners. Euripidas, elate with this ſucceſs, again led out his forces within ſome days afterwards, and made himſelf maſter of a fort called Tichos; which was ſituated near the promontory Araxus in the Dymæan territory; and, as fables relate, was built in ancient times by Hercules; who uſed it as his citadel and place of arms, in his wars againſt the Eleans.

The Dymæans, the Pharæans, and Tritæans, having ſuffered ſo conſiderable a defeat, and dreading likewiſe, that they ſhould now be expoſed to greater danger, ſince this fort had fallen into the poſſeſſion of the enemy, at firſt ſent couriers, to inform the Achæan Prætor of what had happened, and to requeſt ſome ſuccours; and afterwards they deputed to him ſome ambaſſadors, to urge the ſame demand. But Aratus not only was unable to procure at this time any foreign troops, becauſe the Achæans had neglected to diſcharge the ſtipends that were owing to their mercenaries from the time of the war againſt Cleomenes, but was in general wholly unſkilled to form the meaſures that were neceſſary in ſuch conjunctures, and in a word betrayed the greateſt want of courage and activity, in all things that related to the affairs of war. From hence it happened, that Lycurgus poſſeſſed himſelf of Athenæum in the Megalopolitan territory: and Euripidas, beſides his late ſucceſs, took alſo Gorgon, a fortreſs ſituated in the diſtrict of Telphuſſa.

When the Dymæans therefore, the Pharæans, and Tritæans, perceived that no aſſiſtance was to be expected from the Prætor,

Prætor, they reſolved, that they would withdraw their ſhare from the common contributions that were raiſed among the Achæan States, and maintain at their own expence three hundred Foot and fifty Horſe, to cover their lands from the incurſions of the enemy. But though this meaſure was perhaps both wiſe and proper, with reſpect to their own particular ſafety and advantage, it is certain, that nothing could be more pernicious to the common intereſts of the Republick. For by this conduct, they gave not only the example, but furniſhed alſo a ready method and pretence, to all that ſhould at any time be inclined to break the general confederacy, and diſſolve the union of the States. Yet it cannot be denied, that in juſtice the blame muſt chiefly be imputed to Aratus; whoſe delays and negligence ſtill fruſtrated the hopes of thoſe who depended on him for aſſiſtance. For though all men, in the time of danger, moſt willingly adhere to their allies, as long as any ſuccours are to be expected from them; yet on the other hand, when they find that they are deſerted by thoſe very friends upon whom they had fixed their hopes, they are then forced to have recourſe to themſelves alone for ſafety, and to employ ſuch remedies as are within their power. The Tritæans therefore and the reſt may with good reaſon be excuſed, for having raiſed ſome forces at their own expence, when none could be obtained from the Achæans. But on the other hand, they are greatly to be blamed, that they refuſed any longer to contribute their proper ſhare, towards defraying the common wants of the Republick. It was juſt indeed and neceſſary, that they ſhould pay a due regard to their own immediate ſafety. But it was alſo no leſs reaſonable, that they ſhould diſcharge, as the occaſion then required, their duty to the States. And this was rather to be expected from them not only becauſe, by the laws of the confederacy, they were ſure of being again repaid whatever they ſhould advance for the common ſervice, but becauſe they had alſo born the firſt and greateſt

greateſt part, in eſtabliſhing this form of government in Achaia. Such was the ſtate of affairs in Peloponneſus.

In the mean while Philip, having advanced through Theſſaly into Epirus, and being joined there by all the forces of the Epirots, together with three hundred ſlingers from Achaia, and the ſame number of Cretans alſo that were ſent to him by the Pollyrrhenians, continued his march through the province, and arrived upon the confines of the Ambracian territory. If at this time he had paſſed forwards without delay, and fallen ſuddenly with ſo great an army upon the inmoſt parts of Ætolia, he might at once have put an end to the war. But having reſolved, at the requeſt of the Epirots, to lay ſiege firſt to Ambracus, he by that means gave full leiſure to the Ætolians, to draw together their forces, and to form the meaſures that were neceſſary for their defence. For the Epirots, regarding rather their own particular advantage than the common intereſt of the allies, and being deſirous to get Ambracus into their hands, had preſſed the king with the greateſt earneſtneſs, that he would endeavour to reduce that place. Their intention was, to recover Ambracia from the Ætolians. But this conqueſt could never be obtained, but by firſt gaining Ambracus, and making their attacks from thence againſt the city. For the place called Ambracus was a fortreſs of conſiderable ſtrength, ſituated in the middle of a marſh, and ſecured by a wall and outworks. It was only to be approached by one narrow cauſeway; and commanded entirely both the city of Ambracia, and all the adjoining country. Philip therefore yielded to their requeſt, and having fixed his camp near Ambracus, began to make the neceſſary preparations for the ſiege.

But while he was employed in this deſign, Scopas, having drawn together all the Ætolian forces, directed his route through Theſſaly, and made incurſions into Macedon. And when he had ravaged all the open country in the diſtrict of Pieria,

Pieria, and had gained a very great booty, he continued his march from thence to Dium: and finding the place deſerted by the inhabitants, he threw down the walls and all the houſes, and razed the Gymnaſium to the ground. He ſet fire alſo to the porticoes that ſtood round the Temple; deſtroyed the ſacred offerings that were deſigned either as ornaments of the place, or for the uſe of thoſe who came to celebrate the public feſtivals; and broke all the images of the kings. And having thus, in the very beginning of the war, declared himſelf the enemy of the Gods as well as men, he then returned back again to his country; and inſtead of being looked upon with horror on account of theſe impieties, was on the contrary received by the Ætolians with honours and applauſe, and regarded as a man, who by his brave and vigorous conduct was able to perform the greateſt ſervices to the Republick. For himſelf, by his diſcourſes, had ſo highly raiſed the confidence of all the people, that they were filled with new and eager hopes; and began to be aſſured, that, after theſe exploits, no enemy would dare ſo much as to approach the Ætolians; and that themſelves might on the contrary hereafter pillage without reſiſtance, not Peloponneſus only, as they had done in former times, but even Theſſaly and Macedon.

When Philip was informed of all the outrages that had been committed in his kingdom, he perceived that he was juſtly puniſhed, for having yielded to the folly and ambitious ſpirit of the Epirots. He continued however ſtill to preſs the ſiege of Ambracus. But when he had raiſed cauſeways in the marſh, and completed all the neceſſary works, the forces that were in the place were ſtruck with terror, and ſurrendered to him after forty days. The king diſmiſſed the garriſon, which conſiſted of five hundred Ætolians, upon terms of ſafety; and gratified the Epirots in their wiſhes, by leaving the fortreſs in their hands. He then decamped, and continued his

march in haſte along Charada, with deſign to paſs the Ambracian Gulph, in that part which was the narroweſt, and which lay near the Temple of the Acarnanians called Actium. For this Gulph, which flows from the ſea of Sicily, is leſs than five ſtadia in its breadth, at it's firſt entrance between Acarnania and Epirus. But advancing farther within the land, it ſpreads afterwards to the breadth of a hundred ſtadia, and extends in length to about three hundred from the ſea. It divides Epirus from Acarnania; leaving the firſt on the ſide towards the North, and the latter on the South. Philip then paſſed the Gulph, in the place which we have mentioned, and continued his route through Acarnania. And having increaſed his army with two thouſand Acarnanian Foot, and two hundred Horſe, he came and incamped before Phoetiæ, a city of Ætolia, and preſſed the ſiege with ſo great force and vigour, that after two days the garriſon, being ſtruck with terror, ſurrendered upon conditions, and were diſmiſſed with ſafety. On the following night, five hundred Ætolians, ignorant of what had happened, began their march towards the place. But Philip having received timely notice of their approach, poſted ſome troops in ambuſcade, and killed the greater part as they advanced. The reſt were taken priſoners; a very ſmall number only excepted, who ſaved themſelves by flight. He then diſtributed among the troops an allowance of corn for thirty days, from the ſtores that had been found in Phoetiæ: and continuing his march afterwards towards Stratus, he incamped upon the river Achelous, at the diſtance of ten ſtadia from the city; and from thence ſending out detachments from his army, waſted the whole country at his leiſure, and found no reſiſtance.

The Achæans, who were at this time ſcarcely able to ſupport the burthen of the war, no ſooner were informed that Philip was ſo near, than they deputed to him ſome ambaſſadors, to requeſt, that he would advance immediately to their

aſſiſtance. The ambaſſadors, when they had joined the King in the neighbourhood of Stratus, diſcharged their commiſſion to him, agreeably to their inſtructions: and having repreſented alſo to him, how vaſt a booty might be gained, if he would now invade Elea, they preſſed him to tranſport his forces over to Rhium, and to fall ſuddenly from thence upon that province.

The King, when they had ended, gave orders that they ſhould not yet depart, and ſaid that he would deliberate with his friends concerning that which they had propoſed: but at the ſame time he decamped, and began his march towards Metropolis and Conope. The inhabitants of Metropolis all left their houſes upon his approach, and retired into the citadel. Philip therefore, having firſt ſet fire to the city, advanced forwards to Conope. But when he approached the river that ran near the town, and which was diſtant from it about twenty ſtadia, a body of Ætolian Cavalry appeared ready to diſpute his paſſage; being perſuaded, that they ſhould either entirely ſtop the Macedonians from advancing, or that the attempt would be attended with conſiderable loſs. But Philip, perceiving their deſign, gave orders that the Peltaſtæ ſhould firſt paſs the river in ſeparate diviſions, cloſing all their ranks, and forming that figure which is called the Tortoiſe. When this was done, and the firſt cohort had now gained the oppoſite ſide, the Cavalry advanced againſt them and began the combat. But as the Macedonians ſtill ſtood firm, covering themſelves with their ſhields in every part; and when the ſecond and third diviſions, having paſſed the river alſo in the ſame cloſe order, came forwards to ſupport the firſt; the Ætolians, perceiving that they fatigued themſelves in vain, retreated back again towards the city: and from that time theſe haughty troops were forced to remain quiet behind their walls.

The King then paſſed the river with the reſt of the forces: and having waſted all the country without reſiſtance, he arrived near Ithoria, a fortreſs that was ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature, and which commanded the road along which the Macedonians were obliged to paſs. The Ætolians that were left to guard it, fled from their poſt, as the King approached: and Philip, being thus maſter of the place, immediately razed it to the ground. He gave orders alſo to the foragers, that they ſhould in like manner deſtroy all the fortreſſes, that were ſcattered through the country. Having then gained the end of theſe defiles, he continued his march ſlowly forwards; that the army might have leiſure to collect the booty. And when the troops were loaded with ſupplies of every kind in great abundance, he directed his route towards the Achæan Oeniadæ. But having in his way incamped near Pæanium, he reſolved firſt to make himſelf maſter of that city. He repeated therefore his attacks againſt it without any intermiſſion; and in a ſhort time took the place by ſtorm. Pæanium was a city, not very conſiderable in ſize; for it was leſs than ſeven ſtadia in it's circuit. But with regard to the houſes, walls, and towers, it ſcarcely was inferior to any of the cities of that country. The King, having razed the walls to the ground, demoliſhed likewiſe all the houſes, and gave orders, that the timber and the tiles ſhould be floated, with the greateſt care, acroſs the river to Oeniadæ. The Ætolians at firſt reſolved to hold poſſeſſion of the citadel of this laſt city, which was ſtrongly fortified with walls and other works. But as the King approached, they were ſtruck with terror, and retired. Philip, having thus gained this city alſo, continued his march, and incamped before a fortreſs in the Calydonian diſtrict, called Elæus; which was not only very ſtrong by nature, but was fortified alſo with a wall, and filled with all the neceſſary ſtores of war, which Attalus had

had ſent to the Ætolians not long before. But the Macedonians in a ſhort time took the place by ſtorm: and when they had waſted all the Calydonian territory, they returned back again to Oeniadæ. The King, having then remarked, that this city was ſituated with very great advantage, as well for other purpoſes, as becauſe it afforded alſo an eaſy paſſage into Peloponneſus, reſolved to incloſe it with a wall. For Oeniadæ is ſituated upon the coaſt, near the entrance of the Gulph of Corinth, in the very extremity of thoſe confines which divide the provinces of Acarnania and Ætolia. Oppoſite to it, on the ſide of Peloponneſus, ſtands Dyme, with the country that lies round Araxus: and the diſtance between Oeniadæ and this promontory is ſo ſmall, that it does not exceed a hundred ſtadia. Philip therefore, having carefully conſidered all theſe circumſtances, began firſt to fortify the citadel; and afterwards having raiſed a wall round the docks and harbour, he reſolved to join theſe alſo to the citadel; employing in the work all thoſe materials which he had brought with him from Pæanium. But before he had compleated this deſign, he received the news, that the Dardanians, imagining that his intention was to advance forwards into Peloponneſus, had drawn together a numerous army, and were preparing to make incurſions into Macedon. Judging it therefore to be neceſſary, that he ſhould provide without delay for the ſecurity of his own proper kingdom, he now ſent back the ambaſſadors of the Achæans; having firſt aſſured them, that as ſoon as he had repelled this danger, he would lay aſide every other project, and employ all his power to aſſiſt their State. He then decamped, and returned back again in haſte, along the ſame way by which he had arrived. As he was preparing to paſs the Ambracian Gulph, which ſeparates Acarnania from Epirus, he was met by Demetrius of Pharos, who had been defeated in Illyria by the Romans, and had

had eſcaped in a ſingle Frigate, as we related in the former Book. The King received him favourably; and directed him to ſail on to Corinth, and from thence to go, through Theſſaly, into Macedon: while himſelf paſſed the Gulph, and continued his march in haſte through Epirus. But no ſooner was he arrived at Pella, than the Dardanians, having received notice from ſome deſerters of his near approach, were ſtruck with terror, and diſmiſſed their army, though they had then advanced very near to the borders of the kingdom. Philip, being informed of their retreat, ſent home likewiſe all the Macedonian troops, to gather in their harveſt; and himſelf went into Theſſaly, with deſign to paſs the reſt of the Summer at Lariſſa.

At this time it was, that Æmilius returned with conqueſt from Illyria, and entered Rome in triumph. About the ſame time Annibal, having taken Saguntum by ſtorm, ſent his army into winter quarters. The Romans alſo, when they had received the news that Saguntum was deſtroyed, deputed ſome ambaſſadors to Carthage, to demand that Annibal ſhould be delivered to them; and at the ſame time choſe for Conſuls Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, and began to make the neceſſary preparations for a war. We have already given, in the preceding Book, a particular and diſtinct account of theſe tranſactions: and now mention them again, for the ſake only of recalling to the reader's view, agreeably to the method which we promiſed ſtill to obſerve, the chief events that were coincident with thoſe which are now related.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

THUS then was ended the firſt year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad: and as this alſo was the time, in which the Ætolians uſually elected their chief Magiſtrates, they now choſe Dorimachus for their Prætor. As ſoon as he was inveſted with this dignity, he aſſembled the troops in arms, and making an incurſion into the upper parts of Epirus, plundered and deſtroyed the country, with a more than common rage and fury; being much leſs ſollicitous to gain any advantage to himſelf, than to work the greateſt miſchief that was poſſible to the Epirots. Arriving at Dodona, he ſet fire to the porticoes of the Temple, deſtroyed the votive offerings, and levelled the walls of the ſacred edifice with the ground. Thus the Ætolians diſdained to be confined within the ordinary limits either of peace or war: purſuing ſtill, in both conjunctures, their own raſh and violent deſigns; and ſhewing not even the leaſt regard either to the laws of nations, or the eſtabliſhed rights and cuſtoms of mankind. After this exploit Dorimachus returned back again to Ætolia.

The winter was now approaching faſt, and no perſon had expected that the Macedonians would at this time take the field, when Philip, advancing from Lariſſa, with three thouſand Chalcaſpides, two thouſand Peltaſtæ, three hundred Cretans, and four hundred of the Royal Cavalry, paſſed from Theſſaly into Eubœa, and from thence to Cynus, and continuing afterwards his route through Bœotia and the Megariſian diſtrict, arrived at Corinth in the very depth of winter; having performed his march with ſo much ſecrecy and diligence, that the people of Peloponneſus were all ignorant of his approach. He immediately ſhut the gates of Corinth, and placed guards upon the roads; and ſent to invite the elder

Aratus

Aratus to come to him from Sicyon. He wrote letters alſo to the Prætor of the Achæans, and to the ſeveral cities, to appoint the place and time in which he expected to be joined by the troops of the Republick. He then marched away from Corinth, and incamped near Dioſcurium in the Phliaſian territory.

About the ſame time Euripidas, who knew not that the King had entered Peloponneſus, began his march from Pſophis, with two cohorts of Eleans, ſome bodies of pirates, and ſome mercenary troops, amounting in the whole to two thouſand and two hundred men, together with two hundred Horſe, and advanced by the way of Pheneum and Stymphalus towards Sicyon, with deſign to waſte the country. And having, on that very night in which Philip had incamped near Dioſcurium, paſſed beyond the army of the King, he was ready juſt to enter the Sicyonian territory on the following day. But ſome Cretan ſoldiers, who had left their ranks, and wandered far into the country in ſearch of forage, fell in among the Eleans as they marched. Euripidas, being informed by theſe that the enemy was near, changed immediately the direction of his route, and, not communicating to any perſon his knowledge of this accident, marched back again in haſte, by the way along which he had advanced; in the hope, that he might be able again to paſs beyond the Macedonians, and to poſſeſs himſelf the firſt of certain mountainous defiles, that were on the other ſide of the Stymphalian diſtrict. The King, who on his part alſo was wholly ignorant of the arrival of theſe troops, purſued his firſt deſign, and continued his march forwards in the morning by the way of Stymphalus towards Caphyæ. For this was the city, in which he had deſired that the Achæans would meet together in arms. But when the advanced guard of the Macedonian army was juſt now ready to aſcend the hill called Apeaurus, which was diſtant from Stymphalus about ten ſtadia, it happened

pened that the foremoſt troops of the Eleans arrived alſo upon the ſame aſcent. Euripidas, who, from the intelligence which he had received before, knew what the forces were that now appeared in ſight, made haſte to avoid the impending danger, and taking with him ſome few horſemen only, fled through private roads to Pſophis. The Eleans, being thus deſerted by their Chief, were ſtruck with conſternation, and for ſome time ſtopped their march, not knowing which way they ſhould turn, or what meaſures were the beſt to take. For their officers were at firſt perſuaded, that theſe were ſome Achæan forces, that had been drawn together to defend the country. This miſtake was occaſioned chiefly by the ſight of the Chalcaſpides, whom they ſuppoſed to be the troops of Megalopolis. For in the battle againſt Cleomenes that was fought near Selaſia, the Megalopolitans had all made uſe of brazen bucklers; having received their arms on that occaſion from Antigonus. They retreated therefore, keeping their ranks entire, towards the neighbouring hills; and were ſtill inclined to think, that they were not miſtaken in their hopes. But when the Macedonians, as they continued to advance, approached more nearly to their view, they then ſoon diſcerned the truth, and, throwing away their arms, began to run with great precipitation. But twelve hundred of them were taken priſoners; and the reſt either were deſtroyed by the Macedonian ſoldiers, or loſt their lives among the precipices. About a hundred only eſcaped by flight. Philip ſent away the ſpoils and priſoners to Corinth; and purſued his route, as he had at firſt deſigned. The people of Peloponneſus were all ſtruck with wonder, at an event ſo ſtrange and unexpected by them: for they now firſt received the news together, both of the arrival of the King, and alſo of his victory.

The Macedonians continued their route through Arcadia: and having ſuffered great fatigue and hardſhip, as they paſſed the mountain called Oligyrtus, which was at this time covered

deep with ſnow, they arrived in the night of the third day at Caphyæ. The King, when he had reſted here during two whole days for the refreſhment of the troops, and being joined alſo by the younger Aratus with the Achæan forces, ſo that the whole army now conſiſted of ten thouſand men, again marched forwards, through the Clitorian diſtrict, towards Pſophis; carrying with him all the machines and ladders, that were found in any of the cities through which he paſſed.

Pſophis is a city of very high antiquity in Arcadia, being acknowledged to have been firſt built in ancient times by the Azanes. With regard to the whole of Peloponneſus, it is ſituated near the middle of the country. But with reſpect to the ſingle province of Arcadia, it ſtands upon the extreme borders of it toward the Weſt; and is on that ſide cloſely joined to the confines of Elea. It commands with great advantage the whole territory of the Eleans; and was at this time aſſociated to their Republick. Philip, arriving near this place in three days march from Caphyæ, incamped upon the hills that ſtood oppoſite to the city, and which afforded a ſafe and commodious view both of the place itſelf, and of all the neighbouring country. But when he had ſeen from hence the advantageous ſituation and uncommon ſtrength of the city, he was for ſome time in doubt, what reſolution he ſhould take. For Pſophis, on the ſide towards the Weſt, is ſecured by a rapid and impetuous torrent, which deſcends from the neighbouring hills, and in a ſhort time forms for itſelf a channel very large and deep, which is not fordable in any place, during the greateſt part of the winter ſeaſon. On the eaſtern ſide flows the Erymanthus, a great and rapid river, the Subject of many well known fables. And this river likewiſe receives the torrent juſt now mentioned, which falls into it on the ſide towards the ſouth. Thus three ſides of the city are completely covered by theſe waters, and guarded againſt all acceſs.

acceſs. On the fourth ſide, towards the North, ſtands a Hill, well fortified and incloſed with walls, and which ſerves indeed as a Citadel to the city; being perfectly adapted, both by nature and by art, for ſuſtaining the efforts of an enemy. The city itſelf was alſo ſecured by walls of an unuſual height, completely built, and fortified with care: and was defended by a garriſon of Eleans. Euripidas was alſo in the place, having ſaved himſelf in it after his flight.

When Philip had conſidered all theſe circumſtances, he was in part inclined to abandon the deſign which he had formed, to take the city either by ſtorm or ſiege. But on the other hand, he was no leſs earneſt to perſiſt in the attempt, when he had again reflected upon the manner in which the place was ſituated. For as much as the Arcadians and Achæans were incommoded by this city, which preſſed cloſe upon the very confines of their country, and furniſhed the Eleans with the power to carry on the war againſt them with vigour and ſecurity, ſo much on the other hand would they be advantaged by it, if it ſhould now be taken: ſince it would not only ſerve to cover their own lands from inſult, but might be uſed alſo as a Place of arms, from whence they might on their part make incurſions into the Elean territory. The King therefore, having at laſt reſolved to perſiſt in his deſign, gave orders that the troops ſhould take their uſual repaſt, and hold themſelves in readineſs, by break of day. And when the morning came, he paſſed the Erymanthus, upon the bridge that was acroſs it, without any reſiſtance from the enemy, who were ſurprized at the attempt, and wholly unprepared againſt it. He then advanced towards the city in bold and terrible array. Euripidas and the reſt were ſtruck with doubt and conſternation. For they at firſt had been perſuaded, that the Macedonians would neither attack by ſtorm a city of ſo conſiderable ſtrength, nor yet venture on the other hand to engage in a long and regular ſiege, in ſo ſevere a ſeaſon.

They were therefore thrown into great perplexity, and began to fear, that ſome perſons in the city had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the King. But when no proofs appeared to confirm this apprehenſion, the greater part ran in haſte to defend the walls; while the mercenaries alſo that belonged to the Eleans advanced through a gate that was above the enemy, with deſign to fall upon them by ſurprize. The King, having ordered the ladders to be fixed againſt the walls in three different parts at once, and divided the Macedonians alſo into three ſeparate bodies, gave the ſignal for the attack. The troops then advanced together, and began to ſcale the city on every ſide. The beſieged for ſome time maintained their ground with courage, and threw down many of the ſoldiers from the ladders. But as their ſtore of darts and other weapons, provided only for the preſent exigency, ſoon began to fail; and when they alſo found, that the Macedonians were ſo far from being deterred by this reſiſtance, that on the contrary no ſooner was one man tumbled from the ladders, than the next that followed ſucceeded without any heſitation to his place; they at laſt turned their backs, and fled for ſafety to the Citadel, while the Macedonians entered by the walls. At the ſame time alſo the Cretan troops attacked the Elean mercenaries with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, that they forced them ſoon to throw away their arms, and to fly in great diſorder: and having purſued them to the very gate from whence they had made their ſally, they entered it together with them. Thus the city was taken at once in every part. The Pſophidians, with their wives and children, fled all into the citadel, together with Euripidas, and the reſt that were able to eſcape. The Macedonians, being thus become the entire maſters of the city, pillaged all the goods, and took poſſeſſion of the houſes. But thoſe that had retired into the citadel, being deſtitute of all ſupplies, reſolved to prevent a worſe misfortune, by ſubmitting to the King. Having therefore diſpatched a Herald,

Herald, and obtained permiſſion to make a deputation to him, they ſent their chief magiſtrates together with Euripidas, by whoſe means a treaty was concluded, in which full ſafety was allowed to all, both citizens and ſtrangers. The deputies then returned, having received orders from the King, that they ſhould all ſtill remain within the citadel, till the army had left the city; leſt the ſoldiers, forgetful of their duty, ſhould be tempted by the hopes of plunder to inſult and pillage them.

The King, being forced by the ſnow, which about this time began to fall, to remain for ſome days in Pſophis, aſſembled together the Achæans, and pointed out to them the ſtrength and commodious ſituation of the place, and the advantages that might be drawn from it in the progreſs of the war. He ſpoke largely alſo of the affection and warm eſteem, which he had conceived for their Republick: and added, that he would now give this city to them; and that in all future times he ſhould be ready to employ his utmoſt power to gratify their wiſhes, and ſeize every occaſion to advance their intereſts. After this diſcourſe, which was received by Aratus and the Achæans with great acknowledgements, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and began his march towards Laſion. The Pſophidians then left the citadel, and again took poſſeſſion of their houſes: and Euripidas went away to Corinth, and from thence into Ætolia. The Achæan Chiefs that were preſent in the place, left the care of the citadel to Proſlaus of Sicyon, with a ſufficient garriſon, and appointed Pythias of Pellene to be Governor of the city. In this manner was ended the ſiege of Pſophis.

The Eleans that were in garriſon at Laſion, having been informed of all the circumſtances of this conqueſt, no ſooner heard that the Macedonians were advancing faſt towards them, than they immediately left the place: and Philip, being thus become maſter of it upon his firſt approach, gave this city alſo to the Achæans, as a farther teſtimony of his regard for their

Republick.

Republick. He reſtored Stratus likewiſe, from whence the Eleans in like manner had retired, to the people of Telphuſſa, from whom it had before been taken. He then decamped, and arriving at Olympia after five days march, offered ſacrifice to the Deity of the place, and feaſted the chief officers of his army. And when he had allowed three days for the refreſhment alſo of the troops, he advanced farther into the Elean territory, and having incamped near the place called Artemiſium, and from thence ſent out detachments from his army to collect the plunder of the country, he afterwards returned again to Dioſcurium.

While the Macedonians were employed in ravaging the country, many of the Eleans fell into their hands, but a much greater number fled for ſafety to the neighbouring towns, and to places that were not eaſy to be forced. For Elea far exceeds all the other parts of Peloponneſus, both in the number of inhabitants, and in the natural riches alſo which are there produced. For there are many among this people, who are ſo fixed in the enjoyment of a country life, and ſo ſatisfied with the abundance of which they are poſſeſſed, that in the courſe even of two or three generations, they are never known to viſit the Capital of the province. This affection for the country is chiefly nouriſhed by that high regard, which by the conſtitution of their government is ſhewn to thoſe that are ſettled in it. For juſtice is adminiſtered among them in every diſtrict; and great pains employed, that they may always be ſupplied with all things that are neceſſary to life. The motive that inclined their Legiſlators firſt to invent ſuch laws, and to give ſuch attention to their ſafety, ſeems partly to have been, that the province was itſelf of very wide extent; but principally, becauſe the inhabitants lived in ancient times a kind of holy life; when their country, on account of the Olympic Games that were celebrated in it, was regarded by the Greeks as ſacred and inviolable, and the people all enjoyed a full repoſe,

repoſe, ſecure from danger, and exempted from the miſeries of war. But afterwards indeed, when the Arcadians attempted to take Laſion from them, with the lands that lay round Piſa, the Eleans were then forced to have recourſe to arms, and to change their former way of life. And ſince that time, they have not even made the leaſt attempt to reſtore their country to thoſe privileges, of which they had been ſo long poſſeſſed; but have ſtill remained in the condition, into which they were thrown by that invaſion. But certainly in this reſpect they have been far from ſhewing a due regard to their own future intereſts. For ſince Peace is that bleſſing, which we all implore the Gods to give us; ſince it is that for whoſe ſake we bear to be expoſed to every danger; ſince in a word, among all the things that are eſteemed good by men, there is none more generally acknowledged to deſerve that name; it ſurely muſt be allowed to be a high degree of folly in the conduct of the Eleans, to refuſe an acquiſition of ſuch value and importance, which they not only might obtain from the States of Greece upon fair and honourable terms, but might hold poſſeſſion of it alſo to all future times. Some perhaps may think, that if this people ſhould again return to their former life, they muſt be expoſed to the attempts of every enemy, that ſhould be inclined to violate treaties, and to fall by ſurprize upon their country. But as this would rarely happen, ſo the Greeks alſo would all join together to revenge the inſult. And with regard to any private robberies, they might at all times be effectually ſecured againſt them; ſince, by the help of that abundance which the continuance of peace would of neceſſity beſtow, they might with eaſe maintain ſome troops of mercenaries, to be employed as occaſion ſhould require. But now from having dreaded dangers that were never likely to arrive, they expoſe their goods to conſtant pillage, and their country to perpetual war. I could wiſh therefore, that theſe reflections might raiſe in the Eleans an attention to their proper

intereſts; ſince they never will find a time more favourable than the preſent, to recover again an acknowledged confirmation of their rights, from all the States of Greece.

But though theſe immunities have been long ſince loſt, the people however, as we obſerved before, ſtill retain ſome traces of their ancient manners, and eſpecially of their attachment to a country life. Upon the arrival therefore of Philip in the province, great numbers of them were taken priſoners by the Macedonians, and greater ſtill eſcaped by flight. There was a fortreſs called Thalamæ, into which the chief part of the people had retired, together with their goods and cattle. The country round it was only to be entered by certain cloſe defiles: and the place itſelf, beſides that it was difficult of all acceſs, was alſo judged to be impregnable. But the King being informed of the numbers that had fled together to this fortreſs, reſolved to attempt and hazard every thing, rather than leave his work imperfect. He ordered the mercenaries therefore firſt to take poſſeſſion of the poſts that commanded the entrance of the paſſes. And having left behind him in the camp his baggage, with the greater part of all his army, he then marched through the defiles, with the Peltaſtæ and the light-armed troops, and arrived in ſight of the fortreſs, without reſiſtance. The Eleans, who were wholly unprepared to ſuſtain a ſiege, and unpractiſed likewiſe in all the art of war, and who at this time had among them great numbers of the very meaneſt of the people, were ſtruck with terror at his approach, and immediately ſurrendered. Among the priſoners were two hundred mercenaries, which Amphidamus, the Prætor of the Eleans, had drawn together from different countries, and had brought them with him to this place. The King, having gained a very great quantity of valuable goods, with more than five thouſand ſlaves, and cattle that ſcarcely could be numbered, returned again to his camp: and from thence, becauſe the troops were ſo incumbered with their booty, that they were

were wholly unfit to engage in any new attempt, he directed his route back to Olympia, and there incamped.

CHAP. VIII.

ABOUT this time Apelles, who, among thoſe that were appointed by Antigonus to be the Guardians of young Philip, was poſſeſſed of the greateſt ſway in all the counſels of the King, formed the baſe deſign of reducing the Achæans to the ſame vile condition as that to which the people of Theſſaly were ſubject. For though the Theſſalians were ſtill governed, in appearance, by their own peculiar laws, and ſeemed on that account to be diſtinguiſhed from the Macedonians, yet in reality there was no difference between them. For both were equally obliged to yield ſtrict obedience to the Royal orders, and to ſubmit without reluctance to all that was impoſed. This man then, having regulated his project in his mind, began firſt to try the tempers of the Achæans that were now preſent in the army. He gave permiſſion to the Macedonians, to diſpoſſeſs them of their Quarters, and defraud them of their booty. And afterwards, he ordered many to be ſcourged, upon the ſlighteſt pretexts: and when any of their companions interpoſed to ſave them, or ſhewed any reſentment of this treatment, himſelf conducted them to priſon. By theſe means he was perſuaded that the Achæans might inſenſibly be led to an entire and blind ſubmiſſion; and think nothing cruel or ſevere, which at any time they ſhould be forced to ſuffer by order of the King. And yet he had ſeen not long before, when he was preſent in the army of Antigonus, that this very people expoſed themſelves to every danger, and ſeemed ready to encounter every hardſhip with the greateſt firmneſs, rather than fall into ſubjection to Cleomenes. But ſome young Achæans, having run together in a body, went and diſcloſed to

Aratus the whole of this deſign. Aratus, wiſely judging that it was neceſſary to defeat ſuch evils in their firſt commencement, ran in haſte to Philip. The King, when he had heard him, ordered the young men to lay aſide their fears; aſſuring them, that nothing of this kind ſhould hereafter happen: and at the ſame time he ſtrictly forbad Apelles to exact any thing from the Achæans, without the knowledge and conſent of their own Prætor. In this manner Philip, by his humane and gentle treatment of thoſe that were with him in the camp, as well as by his courage likewiſe and activity in the field, not only gained the affections of the ſoldiers, but the favour alſo and eſteem of all the people of Peloponneſus. And indeed we can ſcarcely find a Prince, more admirably formed by nature, with all thoſe talents that are requiſite for enlarging conqueſts, and ſuſtaining the weight of empire. For he was poſſeſſed of a ready and clear diſcernment; a happy memory; a gracefulneſs, that was peculiar to all his actions; with ſuch a dignity of aſpect, as declared the monarch, and inſpired reſpect and awe. His activity alſo in the field was never wearied, and his courage never daunted. By what means afterwards theſe noble qualities were all deſtroyed, and from whence it happened, that this Prince, from a mild and gentle Monarch, became at laſt a mercileſs and brutal Tyrant, cannot be explained in a few words only. We ſhall take ſome occaſion therefore more favourable than the preſent, to examine cloſely into the cauſes that produced ſo wonderful a change.

Philip having now decamped, continued his route from Olympia towards Pharæa, and from thence advanced to Telphuſſa, and afterwards to Heræa. In this place he ſold his booty, and laid a bridge acroſs the river Alpheus, with deſign to paſs that way into Triphylia. About the ſame time Dorimachus the Ætolian Prætor, being preſſed by the Eleans to ſave their country from deſtruction, ſent to their aſſiſtance ſix hundred Ætolians under the command of Phylidas. When this

this General, arriving in Elea, had joined his troops with the forces that were at that time in the ſervice of the Eleans, five hundred mercenaries, a thouſand ſoldiers of the country, and a body of Tarentines, he from thence directed his march alſo towards Triphylia. This country, which derives it's name from Triphylus a native of Arcadia, is a part of Peloponneſus, lying near the ſea, between the provinces of Meſſenia and Elea. It looks upon the ſea of Afric; and is ſituated in the extremity of all Greece, on the ſide of the South-weſt. The towns which it contains, are Samicum, Lepreum, Hypana, Typanæa, Pyrgus, Æpyum, Bolax, Stylagium, and Phrixa. The Eleans, having forced theſe towns to ſubmit to their Republick, added to them not long afterwards Aliphira likewiſe; which ſtood within the limits of Arcadia, and at firſt was ſubject to the Megalopolitans. But Alliadas, the Tyrant of Megalopolis, in return for ſome perſonal advantages, ſurrendered it to the Eleans.

Phylidas, having entered this country with his army, ſent away the Eleans to Lepreum, and the mercenaries to Aliphira; while himſelf with the Ætolians, remaining in the neighbourhood of Tipanæa, attended to the motions of the Macedonians. Philip, being now diſincumbered of his booty, paſſed the Alpheus, which flows cloſe along the city of Heræa, and directed his route to Aliphira. This city is built upon a hill, which is on every ſide ſteep and craggy, and more than ten ſtadia in its height. Upon the ſummit ſtands the Citadel, and a brazen Statue alſo of Minerva, of a very uncommon ſize as well as beauty. With what deſign it firſt was wrought, and at whoſe expence; the place from whence it came, and the perſon by whom it was here fixed and dedicated; are things that even the inhabitants of the country are not able to explain with certainty. But all acknowledge it to have been the work of Soſtratus and Hecatodorus; and regard it

as one of the moſt finiſhed pieces, that ever were produced by thoſe great Artiſts.

The King, having waited for a day that was ſerene and bright, commanded the men whoſe taſk it was to carry the ladders, to advance firſt from different parts, with the mercenaries in front to cover them. The Macedonians, divided alſo into ſeparate bodies, followed cloſe behind: and were ordered, with the reſt, to aſcend the hill, as ſoon as the ſun ſhould begin to ſhine. The troops advanced accordingly with great alacrity and vigour: while the Aliphireans ran together in crouds to every ſide, from whence they ſaw the Macedonians ready to approach. At the ſame time the King, with a ſelect body of ſoldiers, having climbed up certain precipices, aſcended unperceived to the ſuburbs of the Citadel. The ſignal was now given for the aſſault; the ladders raiſed againſt the walls; and the troops began in every part to ſcale the city. But the King, having firſt gained poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, which were left without defence, immediately ſet fire to them. When thoſe therefore, that were employed in defending the walls againſt the enemy, ſaw what had happened, they were ſeized with conſternation; and began to fear, that if the Citadel ſhould be loſt, there would be then left to them no reſource. They abandoned therefore all their poſts, and fled into the Citadel; and thus the Macedonians became maſters of the city, almoſt without reſiſtance. Not long afterwards, a deputation was ſent alſo from the Citadel to the King, and the place delivered into his hands, on condition only that the people ſhould be ſafe.

This conqueſt ſtruck no ſmall terror into all the people of Triphylia; and forced them to conſult together, by what meaſures they might beſt preſerve their country. About the ſame time alſo, Phylidas led away his troops from Typanæa, and retired to Lepreum; plundering all the province as he paſſed.

paſſed. For this was the reward, which the Allies of the Ætolians ſeldom failed to receive; being either deſerted by them in the time of their moſt preſſing need; or elſe pillaged and betrayed: and forced to ſuffer from their confederates and friends, ſuch cruel treatment as could ſcarcely be expected even from a conquering enemy. As ſoon therefore as the King approached, the inhabitants of Typanæa and of Hypana ſurrendered their cities to him. The Phialians alſo, being informed of all that had happened in Triphylia, and having been long deſirous to ſhake off their alliance with the Ætolians, ran together in arms, and took poſſeſſion of the place in which the Polemarchs were accuſtomed to aſſemble. There were at this time ſome Ætolian Pirates in Phialia, who had fixed their reſidence in the city, that from thence they might be able to make incurſions upon the lands of the Meſſenians. Theſe men, upon the firſt appearance of this commotion, had reſolved to take arms and reduce the inhabitants by force. But when they ſaw that the people all ran together in crouds, and were preparing to make a vigorous reſiſtance, they abandoned their deſign, and, having obtained conditions for their ſafety, retired from the place, carrying with them all their baggage. The Phialians then ſent ſome deputies to Philip, and invited him to take poſſeſſion of their city.

During the time of this tranſaction, the inhabitants of Lepreum alſo, having poſſeſſed themſelves of a certain part of the city, commanded the Eleans, the Ætolians, and the Lacedæmonians, who had likewiſe joined them, to retire both from the citadel and city. This demand however was at firſt entirely ſlighted. Phylidas ſtill kept his poſt; and was perſuaded, that he ſhould be able to deter the Lepreates from attempting any thing againſt him. But when he heard that Taurion, with one part of the Macedonian forces, had already gained poſſeſſion of Phialia, and that the King himſelf was advancing towards Lepreum with the reſt, he began at once

to

to loſe all hope, while the Lepreates on the contrary aſſumed new confidence. And though there were at this time in the place a thouſand Eleans, with a thouſand Pirates and Ætolians; five hundred mercenaries, and two hundred Lacedæmonians; and though the enemy were maſters of their citadel; yet ſo admirable was the ſpirit, and ſuch the glorious conſtancy of this people, that they reſolved on no account to yield to theſe invaders, or throw away the hope of being able to defend their country. When Phylidas therefore ſaw their firmneſs, and heard alſo that the Macedonians were juſt ready to approach, he at laſt left the city, together with the Lacedæmonians and Eleans. The Cretans, that had joined the troops of Sparta, returned back again to their own country through Meſſenia: while Phylidas, with the other forces, directed his route towards Samicum. The Lepreates, having thus recovered the entire poſſeſſion of their country, ſent ſome deputies to Philip, and ſurrendered their city to him.

As ſoon as the King was informed of theſe tranſactions, he ſent the chief part of his army away to Lepreum, while himſelf, with the Peltaſtæ and the light-armed troops, purſued the enemy, and, falling upon them in their retreat, made himſelf maſter of all their baggage. But Phylidas, having marched with the greateſt haſte, eſcaped ſafe to Samicum. Philip therefore incamped before the place; and, when the reſt of his forces had advanced from Lepreum to join him, began to make ſuch preparations, as threatened the inhabitants with the proſpect of a ſiege. But the Ætolians and Eleans, being wholly unprepared to ſuſtain a ſiege, and having nothing, but their hands only, to defend them, were ſtruck with terror, and offered to ſurrender upon terms of ſafety: and having obtained permiſſion to leave the city with their arms, they retreated to Elea. After this ſucceſs, the neighbouring cities all ſent their deputies to the King, and ſubmitted to him at diſcretion. Theſe were, Phrixa, Stylla-

gium, Epyum, Bolax, Pyrgus, and Epitalium. Philip, having thus in the courſe of ſix days only reduced the whole province of Triphylia, returned again to Lepreum. And when he had firſt exhorted the inhabitants to remain ſteady in their duty, and had placed a garriſon in the citadel, he marched away to Heræa with all his forces, leaving to Ladicus an Acarnanian the government of Triphylia. Arriving at Heræa, he there divided the booty among his ſoldiers: and having taken again the baggage, which he had left behind him in this place, he continued his route from thence to Megalopolis, though it was now the depth of winter.

While Philip was employed in reducing the cities of Triphylia, Chilon, a citizen of Lacedæmon, who thought that his birth had given him the faireſt title to the ſovereignty of Sparta, being enraged that the Ephori had ſlighted his pretenſions, and beſtowed that dignity upon Lycurgus, reſolved to raiſe ſome diſorders in the State. He flattered himſelf, that by following only the example of Cleomenes, and tempting the hopes and ambition of the multitude with the proſpect of a new diviſion of lands, he ſhould at once draw all the people to his party. Having communicated his intention therefore to his friends, and engaged about two hundred of them to ſhare in the danger with him, he made haſte to carry his project into execution. As Lycurgus, and the Ephori who had raiſed him to the kingdom, were the chief obſtacles to his deſign, it was neceſſary that theſe ſhould be firſt removed. He took the occaſion therefore, when the Ephori were at ſupper, and falling upon them by ſurprize, killed them at their table. Thus that puniſhment befel them, which was in juſtice due to their late tranſactions. For whether we conſider the hand by which they fell, or the cauſe that drew this vengeance down upon them, they may well be thought to have merited their fate.

As ſoon as this work was finiſhed, Chilon ran in haſte towards

wards the houſe of Lycurgus. But though this Magiſtrate was then at home, he found means, with the aſſiſtance of ſome friends and neighbours, to retire unperceived, and eſcaped through private roads to the town that was called Pellene of Tripolis. Chilon, having thus failed in the chief and moſt important part of his intended enterprize, began to loſe all hope. But as there was now no room left to retreat, he advanced into the Forum, killing all his enemies, and calling aloud to his friends to join him; inviting the people alſo to his party, by thoſe hopes and promiſes that were juſt now mentioned. But when the citizens were ſo far from ſhewing even the leaſt regard to his pretenſions, that on the contrary they began to run together in parties to oppoſe him, he ſecretly withdrew, and, paſſing through Laconia, fled unattended into the Achæan territory. The Lacedæmonians, being at this time alſo terrified by the near approach of Philip, removed all their ſtores from the open country; and abandoned likewiſe the fortreſs of Athenæum in the Megalopolitan territory, having firſt razed it to the ground.

Thus this people, who from the firſt eſtabliſhment of their State under the laws of the wiſe Lycurgus, had enjoyed the faireſt form of government, and flouriſhed in great ſtrength and power, to the time of the battle of Leuctra, began, after that period, gradually to decline from their former fortune, and to fall into contempt and ruin. And having long been torn by inteſtine tumults and commotions, their peace being ſtill diſturbed by Agrarian laws, and their citizens driven into baniſhment, they at laſt were forced to bow to a ſucceſſion of ſevere and haughty Tyrants, to the time of Nabis, and to yield to all the miſeries of the very vileſt ſervitude; thoſe, who in ancient times had been unable to ſupport even the name of ſlavery. But there are many who have written very copious accounts of the former condition of this people, and of all their various fortunes: and with regard to the changes that

that have happened to them, ſince Cleomenes firſt ſubverted the legal conſtitution of the State, we ſhall take occaſion to relate, in the progreſs of this Hiſtory, all thoſe that were of chiefeſt note, and which beſt deſerve to be remarked.

Philip now decamped from Megalopolis, and taking his route through Tegea, arrived at Argos, and paſſed the reſt of the winter in that city: having obtained among all the Greeks the higheſt admiration and eſteem, as well from his manners and whole deportment, as by thoſe great actions alſo which he had now performed in war, beyond all that could be expected from a Prince of ſuch tender age.

During this time Apelles, who had not yet deſiſted from his project, was revolving in his mind the meaſures, by which he might beſt be able to reduce the Achæans by degrees beneath the Macedonian yoke. As he ſaw, that Aratus and his Son were likely to prove the greateſt obſtacles in the way of this deſign: and that Philip was inclined to pay no ſmall regard to theſe two magiſtrates, eſpecially to the eldeſt of them, not only becauſe he had ſtood in high eſteem and favour with Antigonus, and was a man of great authority among the Achæans, but chiefly on account of his ready talents and profound diſcernment in all the affairs of government; he judged it to be in the firſt place neceſſary, that he ſhould frame ſome contrivance, by which he might deſtroy their credit with the King. With this view, having made inquiry after thoſe Achæans, who oppoſed Aratus in the government, he invited them to come to him from their ſeveral cities; and ſpared no kind of pains or flattery, that might win their favour, and fix them in his intereſts. He then introduced them all to Philip; having firſt inſtructed each of them, to inſinuate to the King, that as long as he was guided by the counſels of Aratus, he muſt be forced, in all things that related to the Achæans, cloſely to obſerve the terms of the alliance: but that on the contrary, if he would

ſubmit his intereſts to the care of theſe new friends, he might ſoon, with their aſſiſtance, become the maſter of Peloponneſus, and govern the people by his own ſingle will. When Apelles had thus far advanced in his deſign, his next care was, to obtain, if it were poſſible, that one of this faction ſhould be elected Prætor of the Achæans; by which means, Aratus would entirely be excluded from the adminiſtration of the State. As the time therefore of the election now drew near, he preſſed the King, to go himſelf to Ægium, on pretence of marching that way into Elea. Philip yielded his conſent: and Apelles, who was likewiſe preſent, partly by the force of threatenings, and partly by ſollicitation, prevailed at laſt, though not without great difficulty, and gained the point which he had in view. For Eperatus, a citizen of Pharæ, was elected Prætor; and Timoxenus, ſupported by the intereſt of Aratus, was repulſed.

From Egium the King began his march, and paſſing through Patræ and Dyme, arrived at Tichos; a fortreſs, ſituated upon the extreme borders of the Dymæan territory, and which had been taken by Euripidas not long before, as we have already mentioned. The King, having reſolved to employ his utmoſt power to recover again this place for the Dymæans, incamped before it with all his forces. But the Eleans that were poſted in it, were ſtruck with terror and ſurrendered. This fortreſs was of no great ſize, being not more than a ſtadium and half in it's circumference. But the ſtrength of it was conſiderable: for the height of the walls was full thirty cubits. Philip reſtored the place to the Dymæans; and from thence made incurſions into the Elean territory. And having waſted all the country, and gained a very great booty, he led his army back again to Dyme.

But Apelles, having thus far accompliſhed his deſign, and obtained a Prætor of his own election, began now to renew his attacks againſt Aratus, in order wholly to remove him

from the confidence of the King. For this purpoſe, he had recourſe to a calumny, which was thus contrived. When Amphidamus the Elean General, who had been taken priſoner with the reſt that had retired to Thalamæ, was conducted to Olympia, he employed the mediation of ſome friends, to procure admiſſion for him to the King: and when he had gained a time of audience, he diſplayed in a long diſcourſe the high authority and credit in which he ſtood among the Eleans, and aſſured the King, that he could eaſily engage that people to enter into an alliance with him. Philip, being prevailed on by theſe promiſes, immediately releaſed Amphidamus, and ſent him to the Eleans; with orders to aſſure them, that, if they would embrace his friendſhip, he would reſtore to them all their priſoners without any ranſom, and ſecure their province againſt all incurſions; and that they ſtill ſhould live in perfect freedom, without garriſon or tribute, and enjoy their own form of government. But, how generous ſoever and inviting theſe conditions might appear, the Eleans remained unmoved, and rejected all that was propoſed.

Apelles ſeized on this refuſal, as a proper ground for the calumny which he now contrived, and carried to the King. He told him, that it might now be ſeen, how falſe were thoſe profeſſions of zeal and friendſhip, with which Aratus and his Son had hitherto deceived him: that in their hearts they were far from being diſpoſed to favour his pretenſions, or promote the intereſts of the Macedonians: that the averſion, which the Eleans had now ſhewn towards him, was ſolely to be imputed to their arts and management: that when Amphidamus was ſent from Olympia to Elis by the King, they had employed in ſecret all their pains, to convince him, that it was by no means for the advantage of the people of Peloponneſus, that Philip ſhould become the maſter of the Eleans: and that from hence alone had ſprung that haughtineſs, and

fierce diſdain with which this people had rejected all his offers, and had reſolved to adhere to their alliance with the Ætolians, and ſtill ſuſtain the war againſt the Macedonians.

Philip, when he had heard this accuſation, ordered Aratus and his Son to be called before him. Apelles then repeated in their preſence all the charge, urging it againſt them with a bold and threatening confidence. And as the King ſtill kept ſilence, he added; that ſince they had ſhewn themſelves ſo thankleſs and ungrateful, and had ſo ill repaid the many favours which they had received from Philip, this Prince had now reſolved to call together the Achæan States, and, when he had explained to them the motives of his conduct, to return again to Macedon. But the eldeſt Aratus, beginning now to ſpeak, beſought the King, that he would by no means judge with paſſion, or give a haſty credit to the things which he had heard, without ſome previous examination and inquiry: that in every charge, eſpecially that was directed againſt any of his allies or friends, it was proper firſt to weigh the evidence with the niceſt and moſt ſcrupulous care: that ſuch a conduct was not only worthy of a Prince, but of the laſt importance alſo, with reſpect to his own intereſts and advantage. He deſired therefore, that thoſe who had heard theſe matters, of which Apelles had accuſed them, might be called to the preſence of the King: that Apelles alſo ſhould attend, with the perſon from whom he had received his information: and in a word, that, before any complaint was made to the Achæan States, every method ſhould be tried, by which it was poſſible to gain a knowledge of the truth. Philip approved of this advice: and having promiſed to purſue it, he then diſmiſſed them.

Some days afterwards had paſſed, and Apelles had not yet produced the proofs that were deſired, when an accident fell out, which proved of great advantage to Aratus. While Philip was employed in plundering the country of the Eleans, this people

people having conceived ſome ſuſpicion of Amphidamus, reſolved to ſeize, and ſend him as a priſoner into Ætolia. But Amphidamus gained early notice of their deſign, and fled at firſt to Olympia. And being there informed that the King was gone to Dyme, to diſtribute the booty among his troops, he made haſte to join him in that city. As ſoon as Aratus heard, that this General had eſcaped from Elis, and was arrived at Dyme, being conſcious of his own innocence, he ran to Philip with great alacrity and joy, and requeſted that Amphidamus might immediately be called before him: that no one better knew the grounds of the charge that had been brought againſt him, than the man who had been a partner in the ſecret: and that on the other hand, it clearly was his intereſt to diſcloſe the truth; ſince he had now been forced to leave his country on account of his attachment to the King, and had no hopes of ſafety but in his protection. The King conſented to this requeſt; and having ordered Amphidamus to be examined in his preſence, he found that the accuſation was in all points falſe. From this time therefore, his affection for Aratus every day increaſed, and his attachment to him became ſtronger than before; while Apelles on the contrary ſunk low in his eſteem. But his mind had been now ſo long poſſeſſed with prejudice in favour of this Miniſter, that it forced him ſtill to overlook, upon many occaſions, the errors of his conduct.

In the mean while Apelles, not being in any degree deterred by what had happened from perſiſting ſtill in the ſame deſigns, made his next attack againſt Taurion, who was intruſted with the care of the affairs of Peloponneſus. He charged him however with no kind of crime; but on the contrary ſpoke largely in his praiſe; and repreſented to the King, what great ſervices might be expected from a man of ſuch abilities, if he were preſent in the camp. But his intention was, to beſtow this charge upon ſome perſon of his own appointment. For this

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is one of thoſe new methods, contrived by men of bad deſigns: to deſtroy the fortunes of their neighbours, not by detraction, but by praiſe. An artifice, replete with malignant rancour, and the baſeſt treachery: invented firſt in the courts of Princes, to be the inſtrument of jealouſy, and ſordid avarice; and employed ſolely to promote the purpoſes of thoſe, who ſtrive to riſe upon the ruins of another. He ſeized every occaſion alſo that was offered, to cenſure Alexander, the Captain of the Guards; having reſolved to fill this poſt likewiſe with another of his own election; and in a word, to change, if poſſible, the whole diſpoſition which Antigonus had made. For Antigonus, not only while he lived, had governed Macedon and the young Prince himſelf with the greateſt prudence, but left behind him alſo at his death ſuch wiſe proviſions, as ſeemed moſt proper to ſecure the future eaſe and ſafety of the kingdom. He explained to the Macedonians in his Will, the meaſures which himſelf had followed in the affairs of government; and preſcribed the plan of the adminiſtration for the time to come: naming the perſons alſo, to whom he left the conduct of the State, and allotting ſeverally to each his proper poſt; that he might thus cut off at once all pretence for jealouſy, and remove every incitement to ſedition. By theſe directions, Apelles was appointed Guardian to the Prince; Leontius, General of the Infantry; Megaleas, the chief Secretary; Alexander, Captain of the Guards; and Taurion, the Commander to preſide in Peloponneſus. Among theſe, Leontius and Megaleas were already in all points devoted to Apelles. The great object therefore of his preſent care, was to remove Taurion and Alexander from their poſts; by which means the whole adminiſtration of the government would fall into his own hands entire, or into the hands of thoſe who poſſeſſed his confidence. And this deſign muſt ſoon have been accompliſhed, if he had not raiſed againſt himſelf an enemy in Aratus. But that wrong policy defeated all his meaſures; and drew

drew after it the puniſhment, that was juſtly due to his imprudence and inſatiable ambition: ſo that within a ſhort time afterwards, he was himſelf involved in thoſe calamities, which he had prepared for others. In what manner this misfortune happened to him, we ſhall at preſent forbear to mention, having brought this Book to it's concluſion. But in that which follows, we ſhall take occaſion to give a clear account of this event, with all the circumſtances that attended it. Philip, after theſe tranſactions which we have now related, returned to Argos, to paſs the winter there together with his friends, and ſent the forces back to Macedon.

THE

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF POLYBIUS.

BOOK the Fifth. CHAP. I.

THE year of the Prætorſhip of the younger Aratus was juſt now ended with the Riſing of the Pleiades: for in this manner the Achæans computed the courſe of time. This Magiſtrate therefore reſigned his office, and was ſucceeded by Eperatus. Dorimachus was Prætor of the Ætolians. About the ſame time Annibal, as the ſummer now approached, having declared without reſerve his intention to make war againſt the Romans, led his forces from New Carthage, paſſed the Iberus, and continued his march towards Italy: while the Romans ſent on their part Tiberius Sempronius with an army into Afric, and Publius Cornelius into Spain. At the ſame time alſo Ptolemy and Antiochus, who both claimed the ſovereignty of Cœleſyria, having loſt all hope of being able to ſettle their pretenſions by embaſſies or treaties, prepared to end the diſpute by arms.

Philip, beginning now to be in want both of proviſions

and of money to ſupport his troops, deſired the Achæan Magiſtrates to give orders for aſſembling the Council of the States. But when theſe were met together at Ægium, according to the laws of the Republick, the King, perceiving that Aratus, ſtung with the diſgrace which he had received in the late election through the bad practices of Apelles, was inclined rather to oppoſe than advance his ſervice, and that on the other hand, Eperatus was by nature deſtitute of all thoſe talents that are requiſite for the conduct of affairs, and was alſo held in great contempt by all, was then fully ſenſible of the folly of thoſe meaſures, which Apelles and Leontius had engaged him to purſue, and reſolved to recover again the confidence and favour of Aratus. He prevailed therefore with the Magiſtrates to remove the Aſſembly of the States to Sicyon; and having there addreſſed himſelf in private both to the elder and the younger Aratus, and charged Apelles with the blame of all that had been tranſacted, he preſſed them to reſume their former ſentiments. To this requeſt they both readily conſented: and the King, through their pains and influence, obtained afterwards from the Aſſembly the full accompliſhment of all that he deſired. For by the decree that now was made, the States engaged to pay to him fifty Talents, on the day when he ſhould firſt begin his march; to furniſh three months ſtipend for the troops, with ten thouſand meaſures of corn; and to pay alſo ſeventeen Talents monthly, during his ſtay in Peloponneſus. After theſe reſolutions, the Aſſembly ſeparated; and the Achæans returned again to their ſeveral cities.

The King, when he had drawn all the troops together from their winter quarters, and had held a conſultation with his friends, reſolved now to carry on the war by ſea. For as by this method he might himſelf be able to fall ſuddenly upon his enemies from every ſide; ſo theſe on the other hand muſt wholly loſe the power of ſending any aſſiſtance to each other; ſeparated, as they were, in remote and diſtant provinces, and alarmed

alarmed by apprehenſions for their own particular ſafety, againſt an enemy to whoſe motions they would then be ſtrangers, and whoſe deſcent upon their country might be made with no leſs celerity than ſecrecy: for the people, againſt whom he was now engaged, were the Ætolians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Eleans. Being fixed therefore in this deſign, he drew together to Lechæum all the veſſels that belonged to the Achæans, together with his own; and gave orders that the ſoldiers ſhould be employed continually in the exerciſe of the oar. The Macedonians ſubmitted to the taſk with the greateſt promptneſs and alacrity. For theſe troops, whoſe courage in the field ſtands firm againſt every danger, are not leſs uſeful and intrepid upon the ſea, whenever occaſion demands their ſervice. Active alſo, and inured to the perpetual toil of digging trenches, and of fortifying camps, they reject no kind of military labour; but are on the contrary, as Heſiod writes of the Æacidæ, "more pleaſed with Battles than with Feaſts."

But while Philip and the Macedonians were thus buſy in completing all the naval preparations, Apelles, perceiving that the King was no longer governed by him as before, and being unable to ſupport the loſs of his authority, formed ſecretly an engagement with Leontius and Megaleas, by which it was agreed, that theſe two, ſtill remaining near the King, ſhould be ready, as occaſion ſerved, to fruſtrate all his counſels, and obſtruct his meaſures; and that himſelf in the mean while would go to Chalcis, and take care to ſtop all ſupplies, that were expected to come that way. When this wicked project was thus concerted, Apelles, having by ſome falſe pretences obtained permiſſion to depart, went accordingly to Chalcis: and there, with the help of that authority, which had grown from his former credit with the King, he ſo well performed his part in this baſe and treacherous engagement, that Philip was at laſt reduced to an entire want of neceſſaries, and forced

even to ſet his Plate in pawn, in order to procure a ſubſiſtence from it.

As ſoon as the fleet was ready, and the troops all perfect in their exerciſe, the King, having firſt diſtributed ſome corn and money among his army, ſailed out to ſea, and arrived in two days at Patræ. The forces that were with him were ſix thouſand Macedonians, and twelve hundred mercenaries. About the ſame time, Dorimachus, the Ætolian Prætor, ſent away five hundred Neocretans, under the command of Agelaus and Scopas, to the aſſiſtance of the Eleans. The Eleans alſo, being apprehenſive that Philip would attempt to beſiege Cyllene, drew together ſome troops of mercenaries; trained the forces of the country; and fortified the place with care. Philip therefore, having been informed of all theſe preparations, reſolved to leave in Dyme the Achæan mercenaries with the Cretans; ſome Gallic Horſe; and two thouſand men, ſelected from the infantry of the Achæans: as well to ſupport himſelf, if there ſhould be occaſion for it, as to cover and ſecure the country againſt the attempts of the Eleans. And having ſent his orders to the Meſſenians, the Epirots, Acarnanians, and to Scerdilaidas, that they ſhould complete the equipment of their veſſels, and join him at Cephallenia, he then ſailed away from Patræ to that iſland at the time appointed, and caſt anchor near a little town called Proni. But becauſe the country round it was cloſe and difficult, and the place not eaſy to be inveſted, he continued his courſe forwards to Palæa, and perceiving that this part of the iſland was full of corn, and promiſed a plentiful ſubſiſtence to his army, he diſembarked all his forces, and there incamped. And having drawn his ſhips to land, and thrown up an intrenchment round them, he ſent away the troops to gather in the corn; while himſelf ſurveyed the city from every ſide, in order to diſcover in what manner he might beſt advance his works, and plant his machines againſt it: deſigning, when the allies had

had joined him, to uſe his utmoſt efforts to become maſter of the place. For by this conqueſt, as the Ætolians would on the one hand be deprived of a place that was of great importance to them; ſince their cuſtom was, to make deſcents from hence, in Cephallenian veſſels, upon the coaſt of Peloponneſus, Acarnania, and Epirus: ſo on the other hand, the King and his allies, when they had gained this poſt, might fall with great advantage upon the country of their enemies. For Cephallenia lies oppoſite to the Corinthian Gulph, extending towards the ſea of Sicily. It joins cloſely upon the north and weſtern coaſts of Peloponneſus, being neareſt to Elea; and looks alſo towards the ſouth and weſtern ſides of Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia. The King therefore, perceiving that the iſland was ſituated with ſo great advantage, as well for aſſembling the allies, and covering all their lands from inſult, as for invading alſo the provinces of the enemy, was impatient to attempt the conqueſt of it. And becauſe Palæa was almoſt every way ſecured by precipices, or the ſea; and was only to be approached by a ſmall and narrow Plain, that looked towards Zacynthus; he reſolved to advance his works upon that ſide only, and to fix there the whole buſineſs of the ſiege.

While Philip was thus employed, in forming the meaſures that were neceſſary for the attack, he was joined by fifteen veſſels, ſent by Scerdilaidas; who was prevented from ſending any greater number, by ſome commotions that had happened in Illyria, among the chiefs of the country. The Epirots alſo joined him, together with the Acarnanians, and Meſſenians. For as Phigalea now was taken from the Ætolians, the Meſſenians had no longer any pretence for refuſing their aſſiſtance in the war.

When all things were ready for the ſiege, and the Baliſtæ and the Catapults diſpoſed in every place, from whence they might with beſt ſucceſs repel the efforts of the enemy, the

King, having exhorted the Macedonians to be ſtrenuous in their duty, ordered them to approach the walls, and to open a mine, under cover of the machines. The Macedonians purſued their taſk with ſo great diligence and ardour, that the walls were in a ſhort time undermined to the length of about five hundred feet. Philip then approached the city, and preſſed the inhabitants to accept conditions from him. And when his offers were rejected, he ſet fire to the timber that ſupported that part of the wall which was undermined. The wall immediately fell down; and the Peltaſtæ, who were commanded by Leontius, being divided into cohorts, were ordered to force their way through the breach, and to ſtorm the city. But this General, remembering the engagement into which he had entered with Apelles, though three young ſoldiers had already paſſed the breach, ſtopped them from advancing, and would not ſuffer the city to be taken. And as he had before corrupted alſo the chief among the officers, and himſelf at this time likewiſe, inſtead of leading on the troops with vigour to the charge, appeared ſtruck with conſternation, and ſpread his fears into the reſt, the Macedonians were at laſt repulſed, though they might without much difficulty have made themſelves maſters of the place. The King, when he perceived the cowardice of the Generals, and that many of the ſoldiers alſo were diſabled by their wounds, was forced to raiſe the ſiege, and to deliberate with his friends concerning the meaſures that were next to be purſued.

About this time, Lycurgus entered the province of Meſſenia with an army; while Dorimachus, with one half of the Ætolian forces, made an incurſion alſo into Theſſaly: being perſuaded that by this diverſion, they ſhould draw away the Macedonians from Palæa. The Acarnanians and Meſſenians, alarmed by the approach of the enemy towards them, ſent ſome deputies to the King, and intreated him to raiſe the ſiege. The Acarnanians preſſed him to remove the war at once into Ætolia, and thus, by waſting all the country, which

which was now left without defence, to conſtrain Dorimachus to return again, before he had entered Macedon. The Meſſenians on the other hand importuned him with no leſs earneſtneſs, to march to the aſſiſtance of their country; repreſenting to him, that as the Eteſian winds had now begun to blow, he might paſs in one day's ſailing from Cephallenia to Meſſenia, and fall upon Lycurgus, before he could receive any notice of his approach. This was the advice which was urged by Gorgus, the chief of the Meſſenian Deputies. Leontius alſo, purſuing ſtill his firſt deſign, ſupported it with all his ſtrength: being well aſſured that no meaſures could more effectually obſtruct the progreſs of the war. For it was eaſy indeed to tranſport the army to Meſſenia: but it was not poſſible to return again till the ſeaſon of theſe winds was paſſed. The Macedonians therefore, confined within the limits of that province, muſt have been forced to waſte the whole ſummer in inaction; while the Ætolians on the other hand might have plundered Theſſaly and Epirus, and deſtroyed all the country at their leiſure. So pernicious were the counſels, which theſe men recommended to the King.

But Aratus, who was preſent, oppoſed this ſentiment; and adviſed the King to advance without delay into Ætolia; ſince, while Dorimachus was abſent with the forces, it would be eaſy to run through all the province, and to plunder it without reſiſtance. Philip, who before was much diſſatisfied with Leontius, on account of his ill conduct in the ſiege, and who began alſo to ſuſpect ſome treachery, from the advice which this Miniſter had ſo warmly urged with reſpect to the courſe that was now moſt proper to be taken, reſolved to yield to the opinion of Aratus. He ſent orders therefore to Eperatus, that he ſhould draw together the Achæan forces, and march to the aſſiſtance of the Meſſenians: while himſelf ſteered away from Cephallenia with the fleet; and, after two days ſailing, arrived at Leucas in the night. From thence, having before made all things ready for his deſign, he paſſed his veſſels

over the neck of land called Dioryctus, into the Ambracian Gulph, which, as we have already mentioned, flows from the ſea of Sicily, and enters far into the inland parts of Acarnania. He then ſteered his courſe up the Gulph; and arriving at Limnæa before break of day, gave orders that the ſoldiers ſhould take their uſual repaſt, and leave behind them likewiſe all their heavy baggage, that they might not be incumbered in their march. He called together alſo all the Guides; and informed himſelf with great exactneſs of the nature of the country, and of the ſtrength and ſituation of the neighbouring cities.

In this place he was joined by Ariſtophantus the Prætor of the Acarnanians, with all the forces of the country. For the people of this province had long wiſhed with the greateſt earneſtneſs for ſome occaſion to revenge the inſults which they had in former times received from the Ætolians. As ſoon therefore as the King arrived, they all took arms: not thoſe alone that were obliged to it by the laws; but many alſo of the older men, whoſe age had exempted them from ſervice. The Epirots, who had alſo been expoſed to the ſame injurious treatment from the Ætolians, were on their part animated likewiſe with the ſame reſentment. But becauſe the arrival of the King was ſudden, and their country alſo of great extent, they wanted the leiſure that was neceſſary for aſſembling together the forces of the province. With regard to the Ætolians, Dorimachus, as we have already mentioned, had taken with him one half of their troops; being perſuaded that the reſt would be ſufficient to defend the country, in his abſence, againſt all ſurprize.

The King, having left his baggage behind him with a proper guard, began his march from Limnæa, in the evening; and when he had gained the diſtance of about ſixty ſtadia, he ordered the troops to take their ſupper: and having allowed a ſhort time for their repoſe, he again ſet forwards, and continuing his march all night, arrived before break of day upon the river Achelous,

Achelous, between Stratus and Conope. His intention was, to fall ſuddenly upon the place called Thermum, before the inhabitants could be able to receive the news of their approach. Leontius clearly ſaw, that this deſign muſt inevitably be attended with ſucceſs, and that all the efforts of the enemy would be vain and uſeleſs. For beſides that the arrival of the Macedonians was ſo quick and unexpected, the Ætolians alſo, having never entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the King would throw himſelf with ſo great confidence into the very middle of a country that was ſtrong and difficult, were wholly unprepared to reſiſt a danger, of which they had conceived no apprehenſions. Reflecting therefore upon theſe two circumſtances, and being conſtant to the engagement into which he had entered with Apelles, he preſſed the King to incamp upon the river Achelous, that the troops, who had marched all night, might enjoy ſome reſt, and be recovered again from their fatigue. His intention was, that the Ætolians might from thence gain time to make the preparations that were neceſſary for their defence. But Aratus on the other hand, well knowing how ſoon, in all ſuch enterprizes, the favourable moment might be irrecoverably loſt, and perceiving alſo that the purpoſe of Leontius was plainly to obſtruct the progreſs of the war, urged the King to proceed without delay, and not ſuffer the occaſion to eſcape. Philip, who was already much diſpleaſed with the whole conduct of Leontius, approved of this advice; and having paſſed the river, continued his route in haſte towards Thermum, burning and deſtroying the country as he marched. Leaving on the left hand Stratus, Theſtia, and Agrinium; and on his right, Conope, Lyſimachia, Trichonium, and Phœteum; he arrived at a town called Metapa, which was ſituated in the entrance of thoſe paſſes, that led along the lake Trichonis, and was diſtant from Thermum about ſixty ſtadia. The Ætolians fled from the place, upon his approach, and the King poſted in it a body of five hundred men; as well to cover his entrance,

as to ſecure alſo his retreat back again through the paſſes. For the country that lay along the borders of the lake, was rough and mountainous, and covered all with woods, ſo that the paſſage through it was extremely cloſe and difficult. Philip entered the defiles; placing in his Van the mercenaries, behind theſe the Illyrians, and after them the ſoldiers of the Phalanx. The Cretans cloſed the rear. The Thracians and the light-armed forces were diſpoſed upon the Right, and marched with equal pace, but at ſome diſtance from the main body. The Left was covered by the lake, to the length of thirty ſtadia. Having gained the end of the defiles, they came to a village that was called Pamphia. The King, when he had poſted a body of troops in this place alſo, continued his march forwards towards Thermum, through a road that was not only very ſteep and rough, but ſurrounded on all ſides likewiſe by lofty precipices, ſo that in many parts it was not to be paſſed without great danger. The whole height alſo of the aſcent was almoſt thirty ſtadia. But the Macedonians purſued their way with ſo great diligence and vigour, that they ſoon gained the ſummit, and arrived at Thermum, while it was yet full day. The King fixed his camp near the city, and from thence ſent away the troops to ravage all the villages, and neighbouring plains. They pillaged the houſes of the city likewiſe; which were not only filled with corn, and every kind of neceſſaries, but with great quantities of rich and coſtly furniture. For as this was the place, in which the Ætolians celebrated every year their Games and Markets, and held alſo their Aſſemblies for electing Magiſtrates, they always laid up in it the moſt valuable of all their goods, for the uſe of theſe ſolemnities, and the more ſplendid reception of their gueſts. They were perſuaded likewiſe, that their riches could no where be depoſited in a place of greater ſafety. For ſuch was the ſtrength and ſituation of this city, that it was conſidered as the Citadel of all Ætolia. And indeed, before this time, no enemy had ever ventured to approach it. The long peace alſo, which

which the country had enjoyed, had afforded both the leiſure and the means to heap together all that various wealth and plenty, which now filled the houſes that were round the temple, and all the neighbouring parts.

The Macedonians, having gained an immenſe booty in the evening, repoſed themſelves in their tents. On the following day, they ſelected from the plunder whatever was of greateſt value, and moſt eaſy to be removed; and burned the reſt in heaps before the camp. They took likewiſe all the arms that were fixed round the porticoes of the temple, and, reſerving the moſt ſplendid of them as their prize, exchanged ſome others alſo for their own. The reſt, which were in number more than fifteen thouſand, were all conſumed in fire. Thus far nothing had been done, that was contrary to juſtice, or repugnant to the laws of war. But what cenſure muſt we paſs on that which followed? Urged by the remembrance of thoſe cruel ravages, which the Ætolians had committed at Dium and Dodona, they now ſet fire to the porticoes of the temple, and deſtroyed the Votive Offerings: among which there were ſome, that were the work of moſt exquiſite art, and finiſhed at a great expence. Nor were they ſatisfied with burning the roofs only of the ſacred edifice; but even razed the temple to the ground. They threw down alſo all the Statues, which were not fewer than two thouſand; breaking many of them in pieces; and ſparing thoſe alone, that bore the names, or the reſemblance, of the Gods. They then wrote upon the walls that celebrated Verſe, which was one of the firſt productions of the dawning genius of Samus the Son of Chryſogonus, who was the foſter-brother of the King:

Remember Dium: thence this Shaft was ſped.

The King himſelf, and thoſe that were about him, promoted all this violence with a kind of frantick zeal and fury: being perſuaded, that it was no more than a juſt and ſuitable reta-

liation and revenge, for thoſe impieties which the Ætolians had before committed. But in my judgement, their conduct upon this occaſion is very greatly to be blamed. Whether my ſentiments are juſt or not, may be judged from thoſe examples, which may be found in the ſame Royal Houſe of Macedon. When Antigonus, after he had defeated Cleomenes in battle, and forced him to leave his kingdom, became maſter of Sparta, ſo that the city and the vanquiſhed citizens were wholly in his power; he was ſo far from treating them with any kind of rigour or ſeverity, that on the contrary he eſtabliſhed them again in perfect freedom, and reſtored to them their laws and ancient government: and when he had diſplayed his generoſity and clemency, as well in many particular inſtances, as in the favours alſo which he conferred in general upon their State, he returned back to Macedon. From this conduct, he was then called the Benefactor, and after his death, the Preſerver of that people; and gained immortal fame and honour, not only among the Lacedæmonians, but from all the States of Greece. That Philip alſo, who firſt enlarged the bounds of the Macedonian Empire, and ſpread wide the ſplendour of this Houſe, when he had defeated the Athenians in the Fight of Chæronea, obtained much more by his humane and gentle conduct after the victory, than he had gained by his arms. For by theſe, he ſubdued indeed the enemies that were in arms againſt him: but by his gentleneſs and moderation he vanquiſhed all the Athenians, and forced Athens itſelf to receive his laws. Inſtead of making his reſentment the rule and meaſure of his conqueſts, he on the contrary purſued his victories no longer, than till he had found a fair occaſion to diſplay his clemency and his love of virtue. He reſtored the priſoners therefore without any ranſom: allowed the rites of funeral to the ſoldiers that had fallen in battle, ſent Antipater to Athens with their bones; and gave habits alſo to the greater part of thoſe that were releaſed. And thus, by his wiſe and dexterous conduct,

conduct, he accompliſhed with a ſmall expence the greateſt purpoſes. For the haughty ſpirit of the Athenians was ſo perfectly ſubdued by this generous treatment, that from enemies, they were changed at once into the moſt zealous and hearty friends, ready to favour all his intereſts, and to aſſiſt in all his deſigns. What again was Alexander's conduct upon a like occaſion? Incenſed as he was in ſo high a degree againſt the people of Thebes, that he ordered all the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves, and the city to be levelled with the ground, yet ſo far was he from neglecting that duty which he owed the Gods, that on the contrary he employed the greateſt care, that no offence ſhould be committed, even through accident, againſt the temples, or other conſecrated places. At the time of his expedition likewiſe into Aſia, to revenge the atrocious inſults which the Perſians had committed againſt the States of Greece, he puniſhed the people indeed with ſuch ſeverity as their crimes demanded; but ſpared the places that were dedicated to the Gods; though the Perſians on the contrary, when they invaded Greece, had made all theſe the ſpecial objects of their rage.

Such then was the conduct, which Philip ſhould have kept continually in view; and have made it clear to all mankind, that he inherited not the kingdom only, but the generous diſpoſition alſo, and heroick greatneſs of his anceſtors. But though he at all times employed great pains, that men ſhould know that he was allied in blood to Alexander and to Philip, he never ſhewed the leaſt ſollicitude to emulate their virtues. His reputation therefore, as he advanced in age, was as different from the fame which thoſe Princes had enjoyed, as his manners and his life were different. This difference was clearly ſeen in the inſtance of his preſent conduct. Blinded by reſentment, he thought it no crime to repay the devaſtations, which the Ætolians had committed, with the like impious outrages, and thus to remedy one evil by another. In every place, and upon every occaſion, he was eager to reproach

proach Dorimachus and Scopas, with all the violence and horrid ſacrilege, of which they had been guilty at Dium and Dodona: but ſeemed never to have apprehended, that while he was purſuing the ſame impious courſe, the ſame cenſure likewiſe muſt fall upon himſelf. For though by the eſtabliſhed laws of war, it is not only juſt but neceſſary, to deſtroy citadels and cities, ſhips and harbours, the fruits alſo of a country with the inhabitants, in order to weaken the ſtrength and power of our enemies, and to encreaſe our own; yet on the other hand, when men extend their fury to thoſe objects, whoſe deſtruction neither can procure the leaſt advantage to themſelves, nor any way diſable their opponents from carrying on the war againſt them; when they burn eſpecially the temples of the Gods, break all their Statues, and deſtroy their Ornaments; what muſt we ſay of ſuch a conduct, but that it is the mere effect of an entire depravity of manners, the work of ſenſeleſs rage and madneſs? For the deſign of making war, among thoſe at leaſt that are of virtuous diſpoſition, is by no means to exterminate the people from whom they have received an injury; but to lead them only to a change of conduct, and to engage them to amend their faults: not to involve the innocent and the guilty in the ſame perdition, but rather to exempt them both from ruin. To this we may alſo add, that it is the part of a tyrant only, who hates his ſubjects, and is hated by them on account of his wicked actions, to exact by force and terror a reluctant and conſtrained obedience; while a King, who is wiſe and moderate in his conduct, humane and generous in his manners, obtains the hearts of all his people, who regard him as their friend and benefactor, and ſubmit with chearfulneſs to his commands.

But in order to conceive in the cleareſt manner the whole extent of that miſtake which Philip now committed, let us conſider, what would have been the ſentiments of the Ætolians, in caſe that he had purſued a different conduct; and had neither burned the porticoes, broken the Statues, nor

deſtroyed any of the offerings that were round the temple. For my own part, I am perſuaded that they muſt have regarded him as a moſt humane and virtuous Prince. Conſcious as they were of all thoſe outrages which they had committed at Dium and Dodona, and knowing alſo that Philip had at this time all things in his power, and that, in treating them with the laſt ſeverity, he would have done no more, with regard to themſelves at leaſt, than what was juſt and reaſonable, they muſt ſurely have conſidered his moderation in this reſpect as a noble effort of a great and generous mind. In this view, while they condemned their own proceedings, they on the other hand would have beſtowed on Philip the higheſt admiration and applauſe; whoſe virtue, ſo worthy of a King, had taught him not only to preſerve the duty which he owed the Gods, but to ſet the bounds alſo to his own juſt reſentment. And indeed to conquer enemies by generoſity alone and juſtice, is far more advantageous, than any victory that is gained by arms. For the ſubmiſſion of men to theſe ariſes wholly from neceſſity and force; to the former, it is free and voluntary. The conqueſt alſo in the one caſe is often very dearly purchaſed: but in the other, the offenders are prevailed upon to return again to a better conduct, without any expence or loſs. And what is ſtill of greater moment, the ſubjects muſt be allowed to claim the chief part of the ſucceſs that is obtained by arms; whereas the Prince alone reaps all the glory of a victory that is gained by virtue.

But ſome perhaps may think, that as Philip was at this time extremely young, he ought not in juſtice to be charged with all the guilt of theſe tranſactions; but that the blame ſhould chiefly be imputed to thoſe that were the neareſt in his confidence, eſpecially to Aratus and Demetrius of Pharos. Now with regard to theſe, it is no hard taſk to judge, even though we were not preſent at their deliberations, which of the two it was, that urged the King to all this violence. For beſides that Aratus, in every action, was diſtinguiſhed by his caution

caution and deliberate judgement, while Demetrius on the contrary was no leſs noted for his imprudence and precipitate raſhneſs; there happened afterwards an inſtance not unlike the preſent, from which we ſhall be able to diſcern beyond all doubt, what muſt have been, upon ſuch occaſions, the ſentiments and conduct of theſe two perſons. But this muſt be reſerved for its proper place. We now return from this digreſſion.

CHAP. II.

THE King, taking with him every thing that could be carried or removed, began his march back again from Thermum, by the ſame way by which he had arrived; placing at the head the booty, with the heavy-armed forces; and the Acarnanians with the mercenaries in the rear. He reſolved to paſs through the defiles with the quickeſt haſte: not doubting but that the Ætolians would take advantage of the difficulty of the way, and fall upon him in his retreat. And this indeed ſoon happened. The people had met together in arms, to the number of about three thouſand men, under the command of Alexander of Trichonium. While the King remained upon the eminencies, they kept themſelves at a diſtance, and lay concealed in obſcure and covered places. But as ſoon as the rear of his army had begun to move, they entered Thermum, and from thence advanced, and fell upon the hindmoſt troops. The mercenaries that compoſed the rear, were thrown by this attack into no ſmall confuſion: while the Ætolians, perceiving the diſorder, and being emboldened by the advantage of the ground, preſſed the charge with greater vigour than before. But Philip, having foreſeen this accident, had taken care, as he deſcended, to poſt behind a certain hill a body of Illyrians, with ſome ſelect men from the Peltaſtæ: and theſe, now falling ſuddenly upon the enemy,

enemy, who had advanced beyond them, and were following the purſuit with eagerneſs, killed a hundred and thirty of them, and took almoſt an equal number priſoners. The reſt fled with great precipitation, and eſcaped through difficult and unfrequented roads. After this ſucceſs, the Rear, ſetting fire to Pamphia as they marched, paſſed the defiles with ſafety, and joined the reſt of the army, who were incamped near Metapa, expecting their arrival. The King razed this city to the ground, and the next day advanced to a town called Acræ. On the following day, he again decamped, and waſting all the country as he paſſed, arrived near Conope, and reſted there during one whole day. He then continued his march along the river Achelous towards Stratus. And having paſſed the river, he for ſome time ſtopped his march, at a diſtance that was beyond the reach of the darts, and offered the troops that were within the city the opportunity of a battle. For he had heard, that three thouſand Ætolian Infantry, and four hundred Horſe, together with five hundred Cretans, had thrown themſelves into the place. But when they all remained cloſe behind the walls, he continued again his route towards Limnæa, where his veſſels lay. But ſcarcely had the hindmoſt troops paſſed beyond Stratus, when ſome of the Ætolian Cavalry ſallied out, and began to diſturb the rear. Theſe at firſt were but few in number: but as they ſoon were followed by a part alſo of their Infantry, and the Cretan forces, the battle then grew warm, and the troops that were in march were forced to face about, to repel the enemy. The conteſt was for ſome time equal. But when the Illyrians were ordered alſo to return, and ſupport the troops that were engaged, the Ætolians, both Infantry and Cavalry, turned their backs, and fled together in great diſorder. The King followed cloſely even to the very gates, and killed about a hundred of them. After this attempt, the Ætolians remained quiet within the city; while the Rear purſued their march with ſafety, and joined the reſt of the army, and the veſſels.

The King being now incamped at eaſe, made a ſolemn ſacrifice of thanks to the Gods, for the ſucceſs of his late enterprize, and invited his officers to a Feaſt. For all men had conſidered it as an attempt of the greateſt hazard, that he ſhould thus throw himſelf into a country of ſuch uncommon ſtrength and difficulty, and enter places into which no troops before had ever dared to penetrate. Yet Philip not only entered them without any loſs, but accompliſhed likewiſe all that he deſigned, and had brought his army back again with ſafety. His joy therefore was extreme; and in this diſpoſition, he prepared to celebrate his banquet.

But Leontius and Megaleas beheld this happy fortune with no ſmall affliction and concern. Faithful ſtill to their engagement with Apelles, they had employed every art, to obſtruct the war, and fruſtrate all the counſels of the King. But ſo far were they from being able to accompliſh their deſign, that on the contrary, this Prince had now obtained the utmoſt of his wiſhes. They came however to the Banquet; but with hearts ſo filled with heavineſs, that the King, with the reſt that were preſent with him, began immediately to ſuſpect, that they were ſtrangers to the general joy. And indeed when in the progreſs of the feaſt the gueſts all had drunk to great exceſs, and theſe alſo were compelled to fill their glaſſes with the reſt, they at laſt threw aſide the maſk, and ſhewed their ſentiments without diſguiſe. For no ſooner was the banquet ended, than, their reaſon being diſordered, and their ſenſes loſt in wine, they ran every way to ſeek Aratus. And having found him returning from the feaſt, after many inſults and reproaches they aſſaulted him with ſtones. A party ſoon was formed on either ſide; and the diſorder began to ſpread through all the camp. The King, being alarmed by the noiſe, ſent ſome perſons to enquire into the cauſes of it, and to compoſe the tumult. Aratus related to them the fact as it had happened; appealed to the teſtimony of all that had been preſent; and then withdrew to his tent. Leontius alſo found

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ſome means to ſlide away unnoticed through the croud. But Megaleas and Crinon were conducted to the King; who, when he had heard the account of what had paſſed, reprimanded them with great ſeverity. But ſo far were they from being humbled by it to any degree of ſubmiſſion or acknowledgement, that on the contrary they added an aggravation to their fault, and told the King, that they never would deſiſt from their deſign, till they had taken full vengeance upon Aratus. The King, being greatly incenſed by this daring inſolence, immediately condemned them to pay a fine of twenty Talents, and commanded them to be led away to priſon. And on the following day having ordered Aratus to be called, he exhorted him to take courage; and aſſured him, that the authors of this diſorder ſhould be puniſhed with due ſeverity.

When Leontius was informed of what had happened to Megaleas, he took with him a body of the Peltaſtæ, and went, thus attended, to the tent of the King: being perſuaded that he ſhould eaſily intimidate this young Prince, and force him to recall his orders. Being admitted therefore to his preſence, he demanded, "who it was that had been ſo bold, as to lay hands upon Megaleas? and by whoſe orders he was ſent to priſon?" The King replied intrepidly, "By mine." Leontius was then ſtruck with terror; and muttering to himſelf ſome threats, retired.

The King now ſailed away with all the fleet, paſſed the Gulph, and arrived in a ſhort time at Leucas. And when he had given orders to the proper officers to make a diſtribution of the booty among the troops, he called together his friends, to paſs judgment on Megaleas. Aratus, who was preſent as the accuſer, ran through the whole adminiſtration of Leontius and his friends. He charged them with ſome flagrant murthers that were committed by their orders, after Antigonus had retired from Greece. He laid open the engagement into which they had entered with Apelles; with the manner alſo in which they had defeated the King's

deſigns, when he attempted to take by ſtorm the city of Palæa. In a word, he ſhewed the guilt of theſe tranſactions with ſo much clearneſs, and ſupported all that he affirmed by ſuch convincing evidence, that Crinon and Megaleas, unable to refute the charge, were with one voice condemned. The former was ſtill detained in priſon. But Leontius offered himſelf as ſurety, for the fine that was impoſed upon Megaleas. Such was the unexpected iſſue of the treacherous project into which theſe men had entered. They had perſuaded themſelves that it would be an eaſy thing to remove Aratus by ſome violence; and when the King was thus left deſtitute of friends, that they might afterwards purſue ſuch meaſures, as their own intereſt ſhould require. But the event proved oppoſite to all their hopes.

During this time, Lycurgus had been forced to abandon the Meſſenian territory, without performing any action of importance. But ſome time afterwards, he again took the field, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Tegea. He attempted alſo to reduce the citadel, into which the inhabitants had all retired. But after ſome fruitleſs efforts he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege, and to return back again to Sparta.

The Eleans made alſo an incurſion into the Dymæan territory; and having drawn into an ambuſcade ſome Cavalry that was ſent againſt them, they defeated them with little difficulty; killed many of the mercenaries; and, among the forces of the country, took priſoners alſo Polymedes of Ægium, and Ageſipolis and Megacles, citizens of Dyme.

Dorimachus, as we before have mentioned, had advanced into Theſſaly with the Ætolians: being perſuaded, that he not only might be able to ravage all the country without reſiſtance, but ſhould alſo draw away the King, by this diverſion, from the ſiege of Palæa. But when he ſaw that Chryſogonus and Petræus had brought together an army to oppoſe him, he never dared to deſcend once into the plain, but continued his route cloſe along the ſides of the mountains. And

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no ſooner was he informed, that the Macedonians had entered the Ætolian territory, than he immediately abandoned Theſſaly, and returned in haſte back again, with deſign to defend his country. But he was wholly diſappointed in that hope: for the enemy had left the province before he was able to arrive.

Philip now ſailed away from Leucas, and having waſted the coaſt of the Hyantheans as he paſſed, arrived at Corinth with all the fleet, and caſt anchor in the harbour of Lechæum. He there diſembarked his army; and when he had firſt ſent letters to the confederate cities of Peloponneſus, to appoint the day, in which their forces ſhould be ready in arms, and join him at Tegea, he immediately began his march towards that city with the Macedonians, and taking his route by the way of Argos, arrived there on the ſecond day: and being joined by ſuch of the Achæan forces as were then aſſembled in the city, he continued his march along the mountains, with deſign to fall upon the Lacedæmonian territory, before the people could receive any notice of his approach. Paſſing therefore through thoſe parts of the country that were chiefly deſtitute of all inhabitants, he appeared, after four days march, upon the hills that ſtand oppoſite to Sparta; and from thence, leaving Menelaium on his right, he advanced forwards to Amyclæ. The Lacedæmonians, when they beheld this army from the city, were ſtruck with conſternation and ſurprize. Their minds indeed had been alarmed not long before, by the news of the ſack of Thermum, and of all the devaſtation which the Macedonians had committed in Ætolia: and the general rumour was, that Lycurgus would ſoon be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Ætolians. But they never had conceived the leaſt ſuſpicion, that the danger in ſo ſhort a time could arrive cloſe to Sparta, from a diſtance ſo conſiderable; eſpecially as the King was at this time of an age, which was apt rather to inſpire contempt than fear. As the event therefore was ſo contrary to all their expectation, it could not fail to ſtrike them with

with the utmoſt terror. And indeed ſo greatly had the courage and the activity of this Prince ſurpaſſed all that his youth could promiſe, that his enemies in every place were filled with ſolicitude and anxious doubt. For marching, as we have already mentioned, from the very middle of Ætolia, and having paſſed in one night's time the Ambracian Gulph, he arrived at Leucas; and when he had ſtaid two days, on the third ſailed early in the morning, and, waſting the coaſt of Ætolia as he paſſed, caſt anchor at Lechæum; and from thence marching forwards without delay, he gained, upon the ſeventh day, the neighbourhood of Menelaium, and the hills, that overlooked the city of Sparta. So aſtoniſhing was this celerity, that thoſe who themſelves beheld it could ſcarcely give credit to their eyes. The Lacedæmonians therefore were diſtracted with ſuſpenſe and wonder, and knew not what meaſures were the beſt to be purſued.

The King on the firſt day fixed his camp near Amyclæ, which is diſtant from Lacedæmon about twenty ſtadia. The country round it is diſtinguiſhed above all the other parts of Laconia, by the excellence and rich variety of the trees and fruits with which it every where abounds. On the ſide of the city towards the ſea, ſtands a Temple of Apollo, more ſumptuous and magnificent than any in the province. On the next day he decamped, and, deſtroying the country as he paſſed, arrived at the place that was called the camp of Pyrrhus. On the two following days, he waſted all the neighbouring places, and came and incamped near Carnium; and from thence continuing his march to Aſine, attempted to take the city. But after ſome fruitleſs efforts, he again decamped, and ravaged all the country, on the ſide towards the ſea of Crete, as far as Tænarium. From thence, taking his route back again, and leaving on his right hand the port called Gythium, which is diſtant from Lacedæmon about thirty ſtadia, he incamped upon the frontiers of the Helian diſtrict, which is the largeſt and moſt beautiful of all the parts into which Laconia

is divided. And having from this place ſent his foragers abroad, he deſtroyed the fruits, and waſted all the country round Acriæ and Leucæ; and from thence extended his incurſions even to Bœa.

The Meſſenians, as ſoon as they had received the orders of the King, that they ſhould join him with their forces, ſhewed no leſs diligence and zeal, than the reſt of the allies; and having ſelected, among all the people of their province, two thouſand of the braveſt Foot, with two hundred Horſe, they began their march towards Tegea. But becauſe the route was of a very conſiderable length, it happened, that Philip had left the City, before they were able to arrive. For ſome time therefore they were in doubt what reſolution they ſhould take. But when they had conſidered, that, as ſome ſuſpicions had been before conceived againſt them, their delay upon this occaſion likewiſe might perhaps be imputed to a deſigned and wilful negligence, they at laſt continued their march through the Argian territory towards Laconia, in order to join the Macedonians. When they arrived near Glympes, a fortreſs that was ſituated upon the extreme borders of Laconia and of Argia, they there incamped; but without any kind of ſkill or caution. For they neither employed their pains to chooſe the moſt commodious ground, nor threw up any intrenchment round their camp; but truſting to the favourable diſpoſition of the people, repoſed themſelves in full ſecurity before the walls. But Lycurgus being informed of their approach, took with him the mercenaries, and a part alſo of the Lacedæmonian forces, and beginning his march from Sparta arrived at the place before break of day, and fell with great fury upon their camp. The Meſſenians, though they had ſhewn before ſo little prudence in all their conduct, and eſpecially in having marched from Tegea when their numbers were ſo few, and in oppoſition alſo to the advice of the wiſeſt men among them, were careful however, at this conjuncture, to have recourſe to the only meaſures, by which they could now obtain their

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ſafety. For as ſoon as the enemy approached towards them, they immediately left all their baggage, and fled into the Fortreſs. The baggage therefore, with many of the Horſes, fell into the hands of the enemy. Eight ſoldiers alſo of the Cavalry were killed. The reſt all eſcaped with ſafety; and retreated back again, through Argia, to their own country. Lycurgus, elate with this ſucceſs, returned to Sparta, to complete the preparations for the war. And when he had held a conſultation with his friends, he reſolved, that Philip ſhould not be permitted to leave the country till he had firſt been forced to try the fortune of a battle.

The King now decamped from the Helian diſtrict, and waſting the country on every ſide, arrived again, after four days march, in the neighbourhood of Amyclæ with all his army, about the middle of the day. Lycurgus, having in concert with his friends and officers regulated all the plan of the intended battle, marched out of the city, with two thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of the poſts round Menelaium. At the ſame time he ordered thoſe that were left in the city carefully to obſerve the time, and, as ſoon as they ſhould perceive his ſignal, to lead out their troops from many parts at once, and range them in order of battle, with their front turned towards the Eurotas, and in the place in which that river flowed neareſt to the city. Such was the diſpoſition of Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonians.

But leſt the reader, from being unacquainted with the country of which we are ſpeaking, ſhould be loſt in error and uncertainty, we ſhall here point out the nature of the ſeveral places, with the manner in which they are ſituated: agreeably to the method, which we have ſtill obſerved in the courſe of this work; comparing always, and bringing cloſe together the parts that are unknown, with thoſe that are already known, and which have been before deſcribed. For ſince, in reading the recital of engagements both by land and ſea, the want of having gained a perfect knowledge of the peculiar face and diſpoſition

disposition of the scene of action, often proves the occasion of great mistakes; and because my design in all which I relate, is not so much to shew what actions were performed, as the manner in which they severally were transacted; I think it necessary, to illustrate all great events, and especially those of war, by describing the places in which they happened, and distinguishing them by some precise and accurate marks; either by harbours, seas, and islands; or else again, by the temples, mountains, and countries that are near; but chiefly by their position with respect to the quarters of the heavens; because this distinction is of all others the most commonly received and understood. For this indeed is the only method, as we have observed before, by which the reader ever can acquire a right conception of those countries, to which he is a stranger.

Sparta then, if we consider it in its general figure and position, is a city in a circular form, standing in a plain. But the ground, in certain parts that are within the circuit of it, is rough and unequal, and rises high above the rest. Close before the city, on the side towards the East, flows the Eurotas; a river so large and deep, that during the greatest part of the year, it is not to be forded. Beyond this river, on the south-east side of the city, are those hills, upon which stands Menelaium. They are rough and difficult of ascent, and of a more than common height: and command entirely all the ground between the river and the city. For the river takes its course along the very border of the hills: and the whole space from thence to Sparta does not exceed a stadium and a half in breadth.

Such was the defile, through which Philip, as he returned, must be forced to pass: having on his left hand the city, with the Lacedæmonians ranged in battle and ready to engage; and on his right, the River, and Lycurgus, with the troops that were posted upon the hills. But besides these difficulties, the Lacedæmonians, in order more effectually to

obſtruct his paſſage, had ſtopped the courſe of the river, at ſome diſtance above the ground which we have mentioned, and forced the waters to flow over all the ſpace that lay between the city and the hills; ſo that neither the Cavalry nor Infantry could march that way with ſafety. The Macedonians therefore had no means left for their retreat, but to lead their army cloſe along the very foot of the hills. But as they muſt then have marched with a very narrow and contracted front, it would ſcarcely have been poſſible to reſiſt the efforts of the enemy. When Philip had conſidered all theſe difficulties, and had held a conſultation alſo with his Generals, he judged it neceſſary, that Lycurgus ſhould be firſt diſlodged from his poſts upon the hills. Taking with him therefore the mercenaries, the Peltaſtæ, and the Illyrians, he paſſed the river, and advanced towards the enemy. When Lycurgus ſaw what the King deſigned, he exhorted his troops to perform their duty, and prepared them for the combat. At the ſame time he gave the ſignal alſo to thoſe that were in the city; who immediately drew out their forces, and ranged them in order of battle before the walls, with the Cavalry upon their right. Philip, as he approached nearer to Lycurgus, firſt ſent the mercenaries againſt him, to begin the action. The Lacedæmonians therefore, who were ſuperior in the advantage of their arms, and from the ſituation alſo of the ground upon which they ſtood, for ſome time maintained the fight with the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs. But when Philip ordered the Peltaſtæ to advance, and ſupport the troops that were firſt engaged, while himſelf with the Illyrians prepared to fall upon the enemy in their flank, the mercenaries, encouraged by this aſſiſtance, preſſed the charge with greater vigour than before; while the Lacedæmonians, being ſtruck with terror at the approach of the heavy-armed forces, turned their backs and fled. About a hundred of them were killed in the place; and more than that number taken priſoners. The reſt eſcaped ſafe into the city. Lycurgus himſelf, with a

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ſmall number of attendants, retreated through ſome private roads, and entered the city alſo in the night. Philip having poſted the Illyrians upon the hills, from whence he had diſlodged the enemy, returned again to join the reſt of the army, with the Peltaſtæ and the light-armed troops.

During this time the Phalanx had begun their march from Amyclæ under the conduct of Aratus, and were now arrived near the city. The King therefore paſſed the river with the light-armed forces, the Peltaſtæ, and a body of Cavalry, in order to ſuſtain the attack of the Lacedæmonians, till the heavy-armed troops, who continued their march along the ſides of the hills, ſhould have paſſed through the defile with ſafety. The Lacedæmonians, advancing from the city, charged firſt the Cavalry of the King. But as the action ſoon became more general, and was ſuſtained by the Peltaſtæ with the greateſt bravery, the victory was again wholly turned to the ſide of Philip, who drove back the Lacedæmonian Cavalry, and purſued them even to the gates. He then paſſed again the river, and cloſing the rear of all the Phalanx, continued his march forwards, without any loſs.

He had juſt now gained the end of the defile, when the night ſuddenly came on, and forced him to incamp, without advancing any farther. It happened that the place, which the guides were thus compelled as it were by accident to mark out for the incampment, was that very ground, which an army would take by choice, if their intention was to paſs beyond the city of Sparta, and to make incurſions upon the Lacedæmonian territory. For it was ſituated at the extremity of this defile of which we have been ſpeaking, in the road which leads to Lacedæmon, not only from Tegea, but from all the inland parts of Peloponneſus, and ſtood cloſe upon the border of the river, at the diſtance of two ſtadia only from the city. The ſide that looked towards the river and the city, was covered by ſteep and lofty precipices, which were almoſt inacceſſible. And above theſe rocks, was a level

plain, which abounded both with earth and water, and was alſo ſo diſpoſed, that an army might at all times enter it, or retire again with ſafety. In a word, whoever has once gained poſſeſſion of this plain, with the precipices likewiſe that are round it, not only may remain ſecure againſt all attacks from the ſide of Sparta, but is the maſter alſo of every thing that enters or returns through the defile.

Philip, having here fixed his camp, in full ſecurity, on the following day ſent his baggage away before, and then drew out all his forces in order of battle, upon the plain, in ſight of the city. And when he had ſtood for ſome time in that diſpoſition, he then turned aſide, and directed his route towards Tegea. Arriving at the place, in which the battle had been fought between Antigonus and Cleomenes, he there incamped: and on the following day, when he had firſt viewed all the neighbouring poſts, and offered ſacrifice to the Gods upon the mountains Eva and Olympus, he ſtrengthened the rear of his army, and continued his march forwards to Tegea: and having there ſold all his booty, he paſſed from thence through Argos, and arrived at Corinth. In this place he was met by ſome ambaſſadors from Rhodes and Chios, who came to mediate a peace. The King, diſſembling his intentions, aſſured the ambaſſadors, that he had been always ſtrongly inclined, and ſtill was ready, to put an end to the war; and diſmiſſed them, with orders that they ſhould employ all their power to lead the Ætolians into the ſame ſentiments. He then went down to Lechæum, deſigning to ſail from thence to Phocis, in order to carry into execution in that province ſome deſigns of great importance.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

AT this time Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, being perſuaded that they ſhould yet be able to intimidate the King, and by that means obliterate all their former crimes, dropped whiſpers of ſedition among the Peltaſtæ and the ſoldiers of the guard: and repreſented to them, that while they alone of all the army were at all times the firſt expoſed to danger for the common ſafety of the reſt, they not only were defrauded of their ancient privileges, but robbed alſo of that ſhare in the diviſion of the plunder, which by long cuſtom they had a right to claim. The young men, inflamed by theſe diſcourſes, ran together in a body, and began to pillage the houſes of the moſt favoured Courtiers, and even attempted to burſt the doors, and to break through the roof of the apartments of the King. In a ſhort time therefore, the whole city was filled with uproar and with tumult. Philip, being informed of this diſorder, came running in great haſte from Lechæum back to Corinth. And having aſſembled the Macedonians in the Theatre, he endeavoured, both by admonition and by threatenings, to bring them to a ſenſe of their miſconduct. But as the confuſion ſtill encreaſed, ſome were of opinion that the chief leaders of the tumult ſhould be ſeized and put to death: while others judged it to be far more prudent to quiet the commotion by gentle means, and that no reſentment ſhould be ſhewn, on account of what had happened. The King concealing his own ſentiments, appeared to yield to this laſt advice; and after ſome general exhortations, returned back again to Lechæum. For though he very well knew, by whoſe contrivance the ſedition had been raiſed, yet the times forced him to diſſemble. After this diſorder, he was no longer able to carry into execution thoſe deſigns, which had invited him to Phocis.

But

But Leontius, perceiving that all his projects ſtill were fruſtrated, and having thrown away all hope of being able to ſucceed in any new attempt, was now forced to call Apelles to his aſſiſtance. He ſent therefore repeated meſſengers, urging him to return from Chalcis, and informing him of all the danger and perplexity in which he had been involved, from having oppoſed the counſels of the King. Apelles, during his abode in Chalcis, had raiſed his credit to a very high degree of inſolence: repreſenting the King, upon all occaſions, as a young man, that was wholly governed by him: and who had devolved upon him all the royal power, with the entire adminiſtration of the State. The Magiſtrates therefore, and the other Officers of Macedon and Theſſaly, referred to him alone the cenſure of their conduct. And in every city alſo of Greece, whenever any Decrees were made, any honours paid, or preſents offered, there was ſcarcely any mention made of Philip. Apelles obtained all, and governed all. The King had been for a long time paſt informed of theſe proceedings. But though he bore the inſult with great uneaſineſs and pain, and was urged cloſely by Aratus to apply ſome remedy, he ſo well concealed his ſentiments, that no perſon yet was able to diſcover what meaſures he had reſolved to take.

Apelles, being ignorant of all that was deſigned againſt him, and not doubting but that, as ſoon as he ſhould appear again in the preſence of the King, all things would be adminiſtered by his directions as before, returned in haſte from Chalcis to ſupport his friends. As he came near to Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the Peltaſtæ, with the reſt of the moſt diſtinguiſhed bodies of the army, employed all their pains to engage the troops to meet him at ſome diſtance from the city. Apelles therefore entered in a kind of Triumph; attended by great numbers both of officers and ſoldiers; and went directly towards the apartments of the King. But as he was going to enter, agreeably

to his former cuſtom, a Lictor, who had before received his orders, ſtopped him from advancing, and told him that the King was not then at leiſure. Apelles ſtood for ſome time fixed in doubt and wonder, at a treatment ſo ſtrange and unexpected, and afterwards retired in great diſorder. The company that had attended in his train all fell away before his face; ſo that at laſt he was followed to his houſe by his own ſervants only. Thus it is that all men, in the courſe even of one ſhort moment, attain the higheſt elevation, and again are ſunk in ruin. But this chiefly happens to thoſe that are found in the courts of Kings. For as the Counters, that are uſed in calculation, are made ſometimes equal to a Talent, ſometimes to a farthing, at the will of him who caſts up the account; ſo theſe men likewiſe are either rich and ſplendid, deſtitute and involved in wretchedneſs, as the nod of their Prince decrees. Megaleas, perceiving that he had hoped in vain to be protected by the power of Apelles againſt the danger which ſo nearly threatened him, reſolved to ſave himſelf by flight. The King ſometimes admitted Apelles to his preſence, and favoured him with ſome ſlight marks of honour: but excluded him from all his counſels; and from the banquets which he celebrated with his friends, after the buſineſs of the day. Within ſome days afterwards, he ſailed to Phocis from Lechæum, taking Apelles alſo with him. But he was forced to return again from Elatea, without being able to accompliſh his deſigns. Megaleas ſeized the occaſion of his abſence, and fled to Athens; leaving Leontius engaged for the twenty talents which he had been condemned to pay. And when the Magiſtrates of Athens refuſed to receive him within their city, he retired to Thebes.

The King embarked at Cirrha with his guards, and having landed in the port of Sicyon, went from thence into the city, and paying no regard to the invitation of the Magiſtrates, lodged himſelf in the Houſe of Aratus, with whom he paſſed all his time, and ſent Apelles back to Corinth. As ſoon alſo as he

was

was informed that Megaleas had fled, he ordered Taurion to march with the Peltaſtæ, who were commanded by Leontius, into Triphylia; on pretence that they were there to be employed in ſome action of importance. But as ſoon as they had left the city, he ordered Leontius to be led away to priſon, on account of the Fine, for which he was engaged as ſurety for Megaleas. The Peltaſtæ, being ſoon informed, by meſſengers that were ſent to them from Leontius, of the danger into which he had fallen, immediately deputed ſome of their body to the King; to deſire, that if Leontius was charged with any new offence, no judgement might be paſſed upon him before their return; that otherwiſe, they ſhould think themſelves deſpiſed and greatly injured: for ſuch was the freedom with which the Macedonians always were accuſtomed to addreſs their Kings. They added alſo, that if nothing more was demanded of him, than to pay the twenty Talents for Megaleas, they would themſelves diſcharge the debt by common contribution. But this eagerneſs, which the ſoldiers ſhewed to ſave Leontius, ſerved only to incenſe the King much more againſt him; and haſtened the order for his death.

About this time, the ambaſſadors of Rhodes and Chios returned from Ætolia, having ſettled a Truce of thirty days. They aſſured the King, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace: and that if he would conſent to meet their deputies at Rhium, on a day which they had named, he would find them heartily diſpoſed to give a quick determination to the war. Philip conſented to the Truce; and wrote alſo to the Allies, that they ſhould ſend to Patræ ſome perſons to deliberate with him concerning the conditions of the peace. He then embarked at Lechæum, and, after two days ſailing, arrived at Patræ. In this place he received ſome letters from Phocis, which had been written by Megaleas to the Ætolians; exhorting them to perſiſt in the war with confidence; and aſſuring them that Philip would ſoon be forced, by the want of neceſ-

ſaries,

faries, to abandon all his projects. There were added alſo many ſevere and injurious calumnies, with regard both to the conduct and the perſon of the King. Philip, when he had ſeen theſe letters, was now fully ſenſible that Apelles was the chief contriver of all that had been done to obſtruct his meaſures. He gave orders therefore, that he ſhould immediately be ſeized, and ſent away under a guard to Corinth, together with his Son, and a young man his favourite. At the ſame time he ordered Alexander to go to Thebes, and to cite Megaleas before the Magiſtrates for the payment of his Fine. But when this was done, Megaleas not waiting for the ſentence, deſtroyed himſelf with his own hands. Within ſome days afterwards, Apelles alſo died, together with his Son, and Favourite. Such was the fate, which at laſt befel theſe traitors; a fate, that was in juſtice due to all their paſt tranſactions, and eſpecially to their inſolent attempts againſt Aratus.

The Ætolians had wiſhed indeed with earneſtneſs to be delivered from a war, that preſſed them cloſely on every ſide, and which had proved in all points contrary to that which they had expected from it. For they had vainly hoped, that they ſhould be able to deal with Philip, as with a child, that was deſtitute of knowledge and experience. But this Prince, both in forming his deſigns, and in carrying them alſo into execution, had ſhewn himſelf to be a perfect man: while themſelves, on the other hand, appeared contemptible as children; as well in every ſingle enterprize, as in the general conduct of the war. But when they received the news of the ſedition that was raiſed among the troops, and of the deaths of Apelles and Leontius, they began to be perſuaded, that ſuch diſorders might enſue, as would create no ſmall embarraſſment to the King. Flattered therefore by this hope, they neglected to ſend their deputies to Rhium on the appointed day. The King ſeized with joy the occaſion that was thus thrown into his hands for continuing the war: both becauſe he had the

greateſt hopes of a happy iſſue from it; and had alſo ſecretly reſolved, before he arrived, that he would employ all his power to retard and obſtruct the treaty. Inſtead therefore of adviſing the confederates who had joined him, to entertain any thoughts of peace, he on the contrary encouraged them ſtill to purſue the war with vigour; and then ſailed back again to Corinth. From thence he ſent the Macedonians away through Theſſaly, to paſs the winter in their own country: while himſelf embarked at Cenchræ, and ſailing round the coaſt of Attica, arrived, through the Euripus, at Demetrias. And there finding Ptolemy, who alone was left of thoſe that had been engaged in the conſpiracy with Leontius, he brought him to a trial before ſome Macedonian judges, by whoſe ſentence he was condemned to die.

This was the time, in which Annibal, having entered Italy, was incamped in ſight of the Roman army upon the banks of the river Po. Antiochus alſo, having ſubdued the greateſt part of Cœle-ſyria, had juſt now diſmiſſed his army to their winter quarters. About the ſame time Lycurgus, King of Lacedæmon, was forced to fly into Ætolia, to avoid the fury of the Ephori. For theſe magiſtrates, deluded by a falſe report, that he deſigned to raiſe ſome diſorders in the government, had drawn together a numerous party, and came to ſeize him in his houſe by night. But as he had received timely warning of the danger, he found means to eſcape with all his family.

The winter was now far advanced, and Philip had retired to Macedon. Eperatus alſo, the Achæan Prætor, was ſo ſunk in credit and eſteem, as well among the troops of the Republick as the mercenaries, that no reſpect was paid to his commands, nor any meaſures taken to ſecure the country againſt the incurſions of the enemy. The General of the Eleans, Pyrrhias, having reflected on theſe circumſtances, took with him fourteen hundred Ætolians, the mercenaries of the Eleans, and the forces alſo of the province, amounting to one thouſand

thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe, ſo that the whole number of his forces was about three thouſand men, and made many depredations without remiſſion upon the lands of the Dymæans, the Pharæans, and Patræans: and having at laſt incamped upon a hill called Panachaicus, which ſtood above the city of Patræ, he ravaged all the country as far as Ægium and Rhium. The cities, being thus inſulted and deſtroyed, and not able to obtain any effectual ſuccours, began to withhold their contributions to the war. The mercenaries on the other hand, perceiving that the payment of their ſtipends was from time to time neglected and delayed, refuſed to march to the aſſiſtance of the country. And thus while both ſides gratified alike their mutual diſcontent, the diſorder was ſtill increaſed, till the troops at laſt all deſerted from the ſervice. Such were the effects of the incapacity and weakneſs of Eperatus. But while all things were thus tending faſt to ruin, his adminiſtration came at laſt to an end. At the approach of ſummer, he reſigned his office; and the Achæans made choice of the elder Aratus to be Prætor. Such was the condition of affairs in Europe.

CHAP. IV.

FROM theſe tranſactions, ſince we are now arrived at a ſuitable period with reſpect to time, as well as at a proper pauſe likewiſe in the relation of affairs, we ſhall go on to deſcribe what paſſed in Aſia during the courſe of this ſame Olympiad: beginning, as we at firſt deſigned, with the war in which Antiochus and Ptolemy were engaged together for the ſovereignty of Cœle-ſyria. For though this war, with reſpect both to the commencement and the progreſs of it, was coincident with that which we have laſt deſcribed, and was extended alſo beyond the time in which we have now broken our narration, yet it ſeemed moſt proper that we ſhould give

in this place a diſtinct relation of it, and ſeparate it from the affairs of Greece. Nor will the reader find it difficult to apprehend the exact time in which all things ſeverally were tranſacted; ſince we have already taken care, in relating all that paſſed in Greece, to mention always the beginning and the end of the chief events that happened at the ſame time in Aſia. But that our work might be in every part intelligible and clear, it ſeemed, as we have ſaid, moſt proper, that we ſhould ſeparate the affairs of theſe two countries, during the courſe only of this Olympiad. For in thoſe that follow we ſhall interweave together in joint order, all the great tranſactions that were coincident in time, and relate them as they happened from year to year.

As my Deſign indeed, the moſt important and extenſive, if I may be allowed to ſay it, of all that have hitherto been formed, is not to write the hiſtory of any ſingle country, but to include together all the fortunes and tranſactions of every people and of every nation in the habitable earth, it will in a more eſpecial manner be incumbent on me, to diſpoſe and regulate the whole with ſuch ſkill and care, as that the order and connection of all that I relate may be fully and diſtinctly underſtood, as well through the work in general, as alſo in it's ſeveral parts. With this deſign, I ſhall now look back to the earlier parts of the reign of Antiochus, and Ptolemy; and beginning from ſome certain and eſtabliſhed facts, from thence lead the reader to the war which I am going to deſcribe. Nor is this care to be regarded as a matter of ſmall importance. For when the Ancients ſaid, that a work begun was half completed, their intention was to warn us, that, in every undertaking, our greateſt pains ſhould be employed, to make a good beginning. And though this manner of expreſſion may be thought by many to be raiſed beyond the truth, yet in my judgment it rather falls below it. For we may boldly ſay, not only that a work begun is half completed, but alſo, that the beginning is connected cloſely even with the end.

end. For how can we properly begin, unleſs we have viewed our undertaking to its utmoſt bounds; and known, from whence the work is to proceed, to what limits we deſign to extend it, and what alſo is the end propoſed? Or how again ſhall we be able, to give any ſummary account of all that the work contains, unleſs we firſt compare together the beginning with the end, and place before us in one view the commencement, order, connection, and dependencies of thoſe events, of which we deſign to treat? As the Beginning therefore is thus cloſely joined not only with the middle of the work, but alſo with the end, it ought at all times to engage the chief attention, both of thoſe that write, and of thoſe alſo that read a General Hiſtory. And this is that, which I ſhall myſelf endeavour to obſerve with the greateſt care.

I am not ignorant indeed, that many others have boaſted, like myſelf, that they have written a General Hiſtory; and that their project is the greateſt and the moſt important, of any that were ever offered to the world. Among theſe is Ephorus; who was the firſt, and is indeed the only one, who ſeems to have been in truth engaged in ſuch an undertaking. With regard to all the reſt, I ſhall at preſent forbear to name them: and will only ſay, that we have ſeen in our times ſome Hiſtorians, who, when they have given a ſlight account, within the compaſs of a few pages only, of the war of Annibal againſt the Romans, have boldly called their work a General Hiſtory: and yet all men know, that at this time were accompliſhed many very ſignal and important actions, both in Spain and Afric, in Sicily and Italy; and that this war, the moſt celebrated, and, if we except the firſt war of Sicily, the longeſt alſo in its continuance of any that we have ever known, drew the eyes of all mankind towards it, and filled their minds with anxious fear for the event. Yet theſe Hiſtorians, when they have recorded fewer facts, than even thoſe Painters, who, in ſome of the cities of Greece, are employed from time to time to draw upon the walls a ſlight and general

ſketch

ſketch of any actions that have happened, make no ſcruple to affirm, that they have included in their work the conduct, and the various fortunes, of the Barbarians and the Greeks. But to ſay the truth, as on the one hand nothing is ſo eaſy as to engage, by words, in the moſt extenſive undertakings; ſo on the other, nothing is more difficult, than to carry any great deſign effectually into execution. For the firſt lies within the power of all, who poſſeſs only a ſufficient ſhare of confidence. But the latter is the portion of a few; and can ſcarcely be accompliſhed, even in the courſe of a long and laborious life. Let theſe reflections therefore ſerve to moderate in ſome degree the arrogance of thoſe writers, who ſo vainly extol their own productions. I now return again to the ſubject, from whence I was led into this digreſſion.

Ptolemy, who was ſurnamed Philopator, having after the death of his Father deſtroyed his Brother Magas with all his friends, reigned alone in Ægypt. As by this exploit he had freed himſelf from the dread of any domeſtick tumults, ſo fortune alſo ſeemed to have ſecured him againſt all danger from abroad. For Seleucus and Antigonus both were dead: and Antiochus and Philip, who ſucceeded in their kingdoms, were ſtill in their moſt tender age. Flattered therefore by this proſpect of tranquillity and eaſe, he began to waſte his time in one continual courſe of ſports and pleaſures; ſecluding himſelf from every kind of buſineſs; and not permitting either the Nobles of his Court, or thoſe that were intruſted with the adminiſtration of the kingdom, ever to approach him. With regard alſo to all the foreign provinces, the Governours were left to purſue their own deſigns, without any inquiry or reſtraint. And yet theſe were the parts of their dominions, which all former Kings had at all times thought more worthy of their attention, even than Ægypt. For thus, while they were maſters of Cyprus, and of Cœle-ſyria, they lay cloſe upon the Kings of Syria both by land and ſea. Poſſeſſed alſo of the moſt conſiderable cities, poſts, and harbours, along

along the coaſt, from Pamphylia towards the Helleſpont, as far as Lyſimachia, they were always able to controul the powers of Aſia, and the Iſlands. And, even with reſpect to Thrace and Macedon, they were ſtill ready to attend to all commotions, and repel every danger that might threaten them, while they held a garriſon in Ænos and Maronea, and in ſome cities alſo that were beyond them. By this wiſe policy, while their power was ſpread wide abroad, they reigned in full ſecurity in Ægypt, which was covered againſt all attacks by the barrier of their diſtant provinces. It was not without good reaſon therefore, that they ſtill watched over the condition of theſe countries with extreme attention. But Ptolemy rejected all this care: and abandoned himſelf at once to obſcene amours and mad debauchery, without any intermiſſion or reſerve. And from hence it happened, as it might indeed be reaſonably expected, that within a ſhort time afterwards many deſigns were formed, to deprive him both of his kingdom and his life.

The firſt attempt was made againſt him by Cleomenes the Spartan. This Prince, during the life-time of Euergetes, who had entered into a cloſe alliance with him, remained ſatisfied and quiet; being perſuaded, that he ſhould be able to obtain at ſome convenient time the aſſiſtance that was neceſſary to recover again his paternal kingdom. But when that Monarch had been ſome time dead, and the affairs of Greece were in ſuch condition that they ſeemed aloud to demand Cleomenes; when Antigonus was now alſo dead, the Achæans involved in war, and the Lacedæmonians, purſuing that very project which Cleomenes himſelf had formed, had joined their arms with the Ætolians againſt the Macedonians and Achæans; he was impatient to be gone from Alexandria, and urged his departure with the greateſt earneſtneſs. He at firſt deſired to be diſmiſſed, with ſome ſuitable ſupplies of troops and ſtores. And when this requeſt was wholly diſregarded, he begged that himſelf at leaſt might be permitted to

leave the kingdom with his family; ſince the times were now ſo favourable for obtaining again the ſovereignty, of which he had been deprived. The King, being immerſed in ſloth and pleaſure, paying no attention to any thing that was before him, and utterly regardleſs alſo of the future, ſtill fooliſhly refuſed to hear the petitions of Cleomenes. But Soſibius, who was then the firſt in the adminiſtration of the kingdom, aſſembled together his friends, to conſider what was moſt proper to be done. In this Council it was ſoon determined, that they would not ſend back Cleomenes with a fleet and forces. For beſides that, from the time in which Antigonus had died, they had entirely diſregarded all the affairs abroad, and on that account conſidered the expence, that muſt attend this expedition, as a thing unneceſſary; they were apprehenſive likewiſe, that as there was now no General left, that was equal to Cleomenes, this Prince would ſoon be able to ſubdue all Greece with little difficulty, and might then turn his arms perhaps againſt themſelves, and become to Ægypt a moſt dangerous and formidable enemy. And this indeed was rather to be dreaded, becauſe he had viewed the whole ſtate of their affairs in the cleareſt light; had conceived a high and juſt contempt of the conduct and manners of the King; and had alſo ſeen, that many parts of their dominions were independent, and far ſeparated from the reſt, and offered many favourable opportunities for action to a dexterous enemy. For at this time there were many ſhips at Samos; and a conſiderable number alſo of troops at Epheſus. From theſe reaſons they concluded, that it was by no means proper to furniſh him with the ſupplies that were deſired. On the other hand, if they ſhould diſmiſs a man ſo great and eminent, after they had thus contemptuouſly ſlighted his requeſt, it was manifeſt that he would from thence become their moſt implacable and ſharpeſt enemy. It remained therefore, that, in ſpite of his own deſire and inclinations, he ſhould be ſtill detained at Alexandria. But this deſign was at once, without deliberation,

ration, condemned by all. For they judged it to be much too dangerous, to ſhut up a Lion in the ſame fold with Sheep. Soſibius, more than all the reſt, was apprehenſive of the ill effects of ſuch a meaſure; from the reaſons which I am going to relate.

At the time when the deſign was formed to deſtroy Magas and Berenice, the perſons who conducted it were diſtracted with no ſmall ſollicitude; chiefly, leſt the bold and reſolute ſpirit of the Princeſs ſhould baffle their attempts, and defeat the whole conſpiracy. In this apprehenſion, they employed great pains to draw the courtiers to their party; and promiſed large rewards to all, in caſe that their project ſhould be attended with ſucceſs. Among the reſt, Soſibius had recourſe eſpecially to Cleomenes; whom he knew to be a man of deep ſenſe and judgment, well verſed in the conduct of great affairs, and who at this time was ſolliciting ſome aſſiſtance from the King. Flattering him therefore with the hopes of obtaining all that he deſired, he diſcloſed to him the ſecret of the whole deſign. Cleomenes, perceiving that his mind was filled with doubt and apprehenſion, and that he dreaded more eſpecially ſome reſiſtance from the foreign troops, exhorted him to lay aſide his fears; and promiſed, that theſe mercenaries, inſtead of taking arms againſt him, ſhould be even ready to aſſiſt him in his project, in caſe that there ſhould be occaſion for it. And when Soſibius appeared ſurprized at this aſſurance, "Do you not ſee, continued he, that there are here three thouſand men from Peloponneſus, and a thouſand Cretans; who all, at the leaſt nod which I ſhall make, will join to execute your orders? And when theſe troops are drawn together for your defence, what have you left to dread? the ſoldiers of Syria and of Caria?" Soſibius heard this diſcourſe with pleaſure; and was greatly encouraged by it to perſiſt in his deſign. But afterwards, when he ſaw the weakneſs and effeminacy of the King, the words that were now ſpoken by Cleomenes, were for ever preſent to his mind;

and forced him to reflect continually upon the enterprizing diſpoſition of this Prince, and the favour in which he ſtood among the mercenaries. At this time therefore, he reſolved to engage his friends, and Ptolemy himſelf, to conſent that Cleomenes ſhould be ſeized, and ſhut up in cloſe confinement. And this was ſoon effected in the following manner.

There was a certain Meſſenian named Nicagoras, who had received the rights of hoſpitality from the father of Archidamus, King of Lacedæmon: and from thence ſome kind of intercourſe, though ſlight and general, had been ſtill preſerved between the Son alſo and himſelf. But when Archidamus, in order to avoid the vengeance of Cleomenes, was forced to fly from Sparta, and ſought refuge in Meſſene, Nicagoras received him into his houſe, and ſupplied him with all neceſſaries: and as they converſed together continually, a mutual inclination to each other by degrees took place, which at laſt was ripened into the moſt perfect confidence and friendſhip. When Cleomenes therefore, ſome time afterwards, gave hopes that he would again be reconciled to Archidamus, and permit him to return, Nicagoras was employed at his own requeſt to ſettle the conditions of the treaty. And when theſe were on both ſides ratified, Archidamus ſet out to return to Sparta; and thought himſelf ſecure in the agreement, that had been thus negotiated by his friend. But Cleomenes met him upon the road, and killed him; but ſuffered Nicagoras, with the reſt of the attendants, to eſcape. Nicagoras concealed his ſentiments, and outwardly profeſſed great obligations to Cleomenes, who had thus ſpared his life. But in his mind he bore a ſtrong reſentment of the action: becauſe it ſeemed, that through his means chiefly the King had fallen into the ſnare that proved ſo fatal to him.

This man then, about the time of which we are ſpeaking, arrived at Alexandria, with ſome horſes which he had brought to ſell. As he came to land, he ſaw Cleomenes, who was

walking with Hippitas and Panteus, near the harbour. Cleomenes ſaluted him with great affection, and inquired the buſineſs of his voyage. And when Nicagoras told him, that he had brought ſome horſes; "I could wiſh, ſaid he, moſt heartily, that you had rather brought ſome Catamites and Dancers; for theſe are the amuſement of the preſent King." Nicagoras then ſmiled, but made no reply. But ſome days afterwards, being admitted, upon the buſineſs of his horſes, to the preſence of Soſibius, in order to incenſe him againſt Cleomenes, he reported to him this diſcourſe. And when he obſerved, that he was heard with pleaſure, he diſcovered all the grounds of his own averſion againſt that Prince. When Soſibius found that he was in reality an enemy to Cleomenes, he offered to him ſome conſiderable preſents, and promiſing alſo more, prevailed upon him to write a letter, which ſhould contain ſome charge againſt Cleomenes, and to leave it ſealed, with orders to a ſervant to deliver it, within ſome days after his departure. Nicagoras entered readily into all the project: and ſailed away from Alexandria. The Letter was then delivered to Soſibius; who carried it, together with the ſervant, to the King. The Servant declared, that Nicagoras had left the letter, with orders, that he ſhould deliver it to Soſibius. The letter itſelf imported, that Cleomenes, if the King ſhould ſtill perſiſt in refuſing the ſupplies that were neceſſary for his return, had reſolved ſoon to raiſe ſome commotions in the kingdom. Soſibius, ſeizing the occaſion, urged the King, and all that were about him, to admit no delay, but inſtantly to prevent the treaſon, by ſecuring the perſon of Cleomenes. And this accordingly was done. They allotted to him for his reſidence a Houſe of great extent, in which he was guarded carefully: ſo that he differed in no reſpect from other priſoners, except only that his priſon was of larger ſize.

Cleomenes, when he had weighed all the circumſtances of his preſent ſtate, and perceived that there was no room left for hope, was determined to attempt and hazard every thing, in

order to regain his liberty: not ſo much in expectation that he ſhould be able to ſucceed in the deſign, ſince he was deſtitute of all the neceſſary means; but rather, becauſe he had reſolved to die a glorious death, without ſuffering any thing that might diſgrace his former greatneſs; having fixed, as I ſuppoſe, his whole attention upon that noble ſentiment of the Poet, ſo flattering to men of elevated minds:

Welcome, fate!
'Tis true I periſh, yet I periſh great:
Yet in a mighty deed I ſhall expire;
Let future ages hear it, and admire *.

Having waited therefore, till the King was gone from Alexandria to Canopus, he then ſpread a report among his Guards, that he ſhould ſoon obtain his liberty. Upon this pretence, he feaſted all his family; and diſtributed among the ſoldiers alſo, meat and wine, and crowns of flowers. The Guards, not ſuſpecting any kind of fraud, gave full indulgence to their appetites. And when at laſt they had drunk to great exceſs, Cleomenes, with his friends and ſervants, having poniards in their hands, paſſed through them unperceived, about the middle of the day. When they came into the ſtreet, they there met Ptolemy, who, in the abſence of the King, was intruſted with the government of the city: and having ſtruck a terror into his attendants, they pulled him from his Chariot, and ſhut him up; and then called aloud to the people, to reſume their Liberty. But when the multitude were all ſo ſtruck with terror at the boldneſs of the attempt, that none approached to join them, they directed their way towards the Citadel; with deſign to force their entrance, and take the priſoners to their aſſiſtance. But the officers, in apprehenſion of this accident, had ſtrongly barred the gates. Diſappointed therefore in this hope likewiſe, they at laſt killed

* POPE, Iliad 22.

themſelves

themſelves with their own poniards: and thus ſhewed a courage that was truly Spartan. In this manner fell Cleomenes; a Prince, whoſe manners were dexterous and inſinuating, as his capacity in the adminiſtration of affairs was great: and who, to expreſs his character in a word, was moſt admirably formed by nature, both for a General and a King.

Within a ſhort time after this event, Theodotus the Governour of Cœle-ſyria, an Ætolian by his birth, reſolved to enter into treaty with Antiochus, and to deliver to him the cities of his Province. He was urged to this deſign, partly by the contempt which he had conceived of Ptolemy, on account of his lazy and luxurious life; and partly alſo becauſe he was perſuaded, that ſome ill deſigns had been formed againſt himſelf by the miniſters of the court. For not long before, though he had performed many important ſervices, as well on other occaſions, as more eſpecially at the time in which Antiochus firſt invaded Cœle-ſyria, he not only had received no reward or favour, but on the contrary was ordered to return to Alexandria, and even found it difficult to eſcape with life. Antiochus received his offer with the greateſt joy: and the agreement was in a ſhort time fully regulated. But we ſhall now perform for this Houſe likewiſe, what we have done with reſpect to Ptolemy; and looking back to the time, in which Antiochus began to reign, ſhall from thence give a ſhort account of the chief events, to the commencement of the war which we are now preparing to deſcribe.

CHAP. V.

ANTIOCHUS was the youngeſt ſon of Seleucus, ſurnamed Callinicus. As ſoon as his Father was dead, and his elder Brother had, in right of his birth, ſucceeded in the throne, he at firſt retired from the court, and fixed his reſidence in the upper Aſia. But ſome time afterwards, when

his Brother, having paſſed Mount Taurus with an army, was deprived of his life by treachery, as we before related, he returned, and took poſſeſſion of the kingdom; leaving to Achæus the government of the country that was on this ſide of Mount Taurus. At the ſame time alſo he intruſted to the care of Molon, and of Alexander, Molon's brother, all the upper provinces; and appointed the firſt to be the governour of Media, and the other of Perſis.

But not long afterwards, theſe two, deſpiſing the King on account of his tender age, being incited alſo by the hope that Achæus might be engaged to enter with them into their deſign, but chiefly becauſe they dreaded the cruel diſpoſition, and the wicked arts of Hermias, who was then the firſt in the adminiſtration of affairs, reſolved to throw off their allegiance, and employ all their power, to engage the upper provinces to revolt.

Hermias was by birth a Carian; and had been intruſted with the ſupreme direction of the kingdom by Seleucus, the brother of Antiochus, when he ſet out upon his expedition towards Mount Taurus. Raiſed to this high poſt, he grew jealous of all beſides that were in any manner diſtinguiſhed in the court. And being by nature cruel, he ſometimes aggravated little faults into crimes of moment, and puniſhed them with the laſt ſeverity. Sometimes, himſelf both forged the accuſation, and decided as the Judge, without any remorſe or pity. Above all the reſt, he wiſhed moſt earneſtly for ſome occaſion, by which he might deſtroy Epigenes, who had led the forces back, that had attended on Seleucus. For he knew that he was a man of eminent abilities, both in the cabinet and the field; and that his authority alſo among the troops was great. Having marked him therefore, as the chief object of his fear and hatred, he attended carefully to every accident, that might furniſh him with ſome pretence againſt him. At this time, when the King had called together a Council to deliberate on the meaſures that were moſt proper to

to be taken againſt the rebels, and had commanded every man to ſpeak his ſentiments, Epigenes, who roſe up the firſt, adviſed, that, in a matter of ſo near and great importance, no moment ſhould be loſt: that the King himſelf ſhould haſten in perſon to the place, and not ſuffer the occaſion to eſcape: that, by his preſence in the country with a ſufficient force, either Molon muſt at once be forced to abandon his deſigns, or in caſe that he ſtill ſhould have the boldneſs to perſiſt, the people would all join to ſeize, and deliver him a priſoner to the King. He had ſcarcely ended, when Hermias, riſing full of rage, declared, that Epigenes, for a long time paſt, had harboured ſecretly ſuch counſels in his heart, as were the moſt pernicious to the kingdom; but that now his ſentiments had appeared without diſguiſe, ſince he had thus urged the King to march in perſon into a country that was armed againſt him, with a force too ſmall for his ſecurity, and in a word, to throw himſelf at once into the power of the rebels. He then ſaid no more; but being ſatisfied with having ſtamped this firſt bad impreſſion of Epigenes, ſo that his words ſeemed rather the effect of an inconſiderate and haſty peeviſhneſs, than of any ſettled hatred, he went on to deliver his own opinion; which was, that the King ſhould lay aſide all thoughts of marching againſt Molon, and rather turn his arms againſt the King of Ægypt. For being himſelf unſkilled in the affairs of war, he feared to encounter with the danger, which this expedition ſeemed to promiſe: and was perſuaded on the other hand, that Ptolemy, a prince immerſed in ſloth and pleaſure, might be attacked with little hazard. Having thus ſtruck a terror into all the members of the council, he gave to Xenon, and to Theodotus, a native of Hermione, the conduct of the forces that were ordered to be ſent againſt the rebels.

From this time alſo, he never ceaſed to preſs the King continually, to enter Cœle-ſyria with an army: being perſuaded, that if this young Prince ſhould be once incloſed on every ſide

by

by war, perplexed with difficulties, and diſtreſſed by danger, he would ſtand ſo much in need of his conſtant counſel and aſſiſtance, that he never would be able to entertain a thought of inquiring into any of his former faults, or make any attempt to diveſt him of that power of which he was then poſſeſſed. At laſt therefore, having forged a letter, which he pretended had been ſent to him from Achæus, he carried it to the King. The import of it was, "that Ptolemy had ſtrongly urged Achæus to aſſume the royal diadem, and promiſed to aſſiſt him both with ſhips and money, in caſe that he would declare himſelf the Sovereign of the countries which he at that time governed: that in fact, he already was the Sovereign of them; and why then ſhould he envy himſelf the name, and fooliſhly reject the crown which was thus placed upon his head by fortune?" Antiochus gave full credit to this letter, and was now fixed in the deſign of invading Cœle-ſyria without delay.

About this time, while the King was at Seleucia near Zeugma, Laodice, who was deſigned to be his wife, arrived from Cappadocia, conducted by Diognetus. She was the daughter of king Mithridates, and was a Virgin. Mithridates himſelf derived his deſcent from one of thoſe ſeven Perſians who killed Magus; and boaſted alſo, that his kingdom, which ſtood upon the coaſt of the Euxine ſea, was the ſame, which had firſt been given to his anceſtors by Darius. Antiochus, attended by a numerous train of courtiers, met the Princeſs on her journey; and ſolemnized the nuptials with ſuch ſplendour and magnificence, as were worthy of a King. From thence he went down to Antiochia; and having declared Laodice his Queen, began to make all the neceſſary preparations for the war.

During this time Molon, with the aſſiſtance of his brother Alexander, who engaged without reſerve in the ſame deſign, drew to his party all the people of his government; partly by the promiſe of great riches and rewards, and partly alſo by intimidating the chief men of the country, to whom he ſhewed

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ſome letters of a ſevere and threatening ſtrain, which he pretended to have been written by the King. He took care alſo to ſecure himſelf againſt all danger from the neighbouring Provinces; having by large preſents gained the favour of the Governours. And when his meaſures were all fully regulated, he began his march with a very numerous army, and advanced to meet the forces of the King.

The Generals Xenon and Theodotus were ſtruck with terror at his approach, and retired into the cities. Molon therefore became at once the maſter of all the country round Apollonia, which abounded with ſupplies and ſtores of every kind in the greateſt quantity. Before this ſucceſs, his power indeed was greatly to be dreaded, on account of the riches and the wide extent of the country which he governed. For all the royal herds of horſes are bred among the Medes. Their cattle and their fruits are ſcarcely to be numbered. Nor is it eaſy to expreſs the natural ſtrength and greatneſs of this province.

For Media, which is ſituated near the midſt of Aſia, far ſurpaſſes every other province, as well in it's extent, as in the height alſo and the number of the mountains with which the country all is covered. It commands likewiſe many great and powerful nations, that are ſituated cloſe upon the borders of it. On the ſide towards the Eaſt, are thoſe deſert plains that lie between Perſis and Parrhaſia; the paſſes that are called the Caſpian Gates; and the Tapyrian mountains, which are not far diſtant from the Hyrcanian ſea. On the South, it extends towards the borders of Meſopotamia, Apollonia, and Perſis; and is covered by the mountain Zagrus, which riſes to a hundred ſtadia in it's height; and whoſe ſummit, being parted into many ſeparate hills, forms deep declivities and ſpacious vallies, which are inhabited by the Coſſæans, the Corbrenæ, Carchians, and other barbarous tribes, all celebrated for their proweſs and dexterity in war. Towards the Weſt, it is cloſely joined to the people called the Atropatians; who themſelves are not

far diſtant from the nations that reſide upon the borders of the Euxine ſea. And laſtly, this Province, on the ſide towards the North, is bounded by the Elymæans, Ariaracæ, Caddusians, and the Matianians; and commands thoſe countries likewiſe that extend towards that part of the Pontus which is joined with the Mæotis. The Province itſelf is broken into many parts, by various chains of mountains, which cover it, at certain diſtances, from Eaſt to Weſt: and the plains between are all filled with villages and cities. Molon therefore, being maſter of a province ſo conſiderable, and which was indeed itſelf a kingdom, was before, as we have ſaid, very greatly to be dreaded. But now, when the Generals of the King had yielded to him all the open country, and this firſt ſucceſs had inſpired his troops with confidence, his power appeared ſo great and formidable, that all the people of Aſia were ſtruck with conſternation, and began to loſe all hope of being able to reſiſt his arms. At firſt therefore he reſolved to paſs the Tigris, and to beſiege Seleucia. But being prevented in this deſign by Zeuxis, who had removed all the boats that were upon the river, he retreated back again to a place that was called The Camp, in the neighbourhood of Cteſiphon, and made the neceſſary preparations to paſs the winter there with his army.

As ſoon as the King received the news, that Molon had already made ſo quick a progreſs, and that his Generals had retired before him, he reſumed again his firſt deſign, and reſolved to ſuſpend his expedition againſt Ptolemy, and to march without any new delay immediately againſt the rebels. But Hermias, perſiſting ſtill in his former project, gave to Xenœtas, an Achæan, the ſupreme command of all the forces, and ſent him againſt Molon. It was proper, he ſaid, that Generals ſhould be employed, to bring back rebellious ſubjects to their duty: but that a King ſhould only take the field againſt a King, when the conteſt was for glory and for empire. And as Antiochus was at this time wholly in his power, he immediately

diately began his march to Apamea; aſſembled the troops together; and from thence advanced to Laodicea. From this city, the King continued his route with all the army, and having paſſed the deſert, entered a cloſe and narrow valley, which lies between the Libanus and Antilibanus, and is called the Vale of Marſyas. The narroweſt part of the valley is covered by a lake and marſhy ground, from whence are gathered aromatick reeds. The two ſides of it are ſecured by two fortreſſes, the one of which is called Bronchi, and the other Gerrha, which leave but a very inconſiderable ſpace between them. The King, having marched ſome days along the valley, and in his way reduced the cities that were near, came at laſt to Gerrha. And finding that Theodotus, the Ætolian, had poſted a ſufficient force in both the fortreſſes, had fortified with trenches and with paliſades the paſs that led along the lake, and had placed ſome troops in every part that was commodious for it, he at firſt endeavoured to diſlodge the enemy, and to force his paſſage. But as all the poſts were thus ſtrongly fortified, he ſuffered great loſs in the attempt, without being able to annoy the enemy. And as Theodotus alſo was at this time firm in the intereſts of his maſter, he at laſt was forced to abandon the deſign.

Antiochus, being thus repulſed, and not able to ſurmount the difficulties that were before him, at the ſame time alſo received the news, that Xenœtas had ſuffered an entire defeat, and that all the upper provinces had ſubmitted to the rebels. He reſolved therefore to lay aſide at once all farther thoughts of the expedition in which he was now engaged, and to turn back again without delay, to the aſſiſtance of his own proper kingdom.

For Xenœtas, being raiſed, as we have ſaid, to the ſupreme command, and inveſted with a power to which his hopes had never dared to aſpire, rejected with diſdain the counſels of his friends, and purſued, in all his conduct, the dictates only of his own haſty and impetuous will. He led the army however

to Seleucia; and being joined there by Diogenes and Pythiades, the firſt of whom was Governour of the Suſian Province, and the other of the Red Sea, he advanced with all his forces, and encamped in ſight of the enemy, having the Tigris in his front. But being aſſured by many ſoldiers, who ſwam over to him from the camp of Molon, that if he would paſs the river, the whole army of the rebels, who were jealous of their General's greatneſs, and in their hearts ſtill preſerved a ſtrong affection for the King, would at once embrace his party, he reſolved immediately to tranſport his forces to the other ſide; and at firſt made a ſhew, as if he had deſigned to lay a bridge acroſs the river, in a part that formed a kind of iſland. But as he was wholly deſtitute of all things that were proper for his purpoſe, this attempt gave no ſollicitude to Molon. But afterwards, when he had drawn together all the boats that he was able to procure, he ſelected from the army the braveſt of the forces, both Infantry and Cavalry, and leaving the care of the camp to Zeuxis and Pythiades, he marched down the ſtream to the diſtance of about eighty ſtadia from the place in which Molon lay incamped, paſſed the river without reſiſtance, and incamped upon a very advantageous ground, which was almoſt every way ſurrounded by the river, and covered alſo in the other parts by pools and marſhes, that were not eaſy to be paſſed. As ſoon as Molon was informed of what had happened, he ſent away his Cavalry, in the hope, that they would be able with little difficulty to intercept the forces as they paſſed the river, and obtain an eaſy victory over thoſe that had already gained the land. But theſe troops, as they approached, were themſelves ſoon vanquiſhed, without any efforts of the enemy. For being wholly unacquainted with the ground, they were plunged at every ſtep into pits and pools: and being thus deprived of the power of reſiſting, were there all deſtroyed. Xenœtas, who was ſtill perſuaded, that the rebels, upon his firſt approach, would run to embrace his party, continued his march afterwards along the river, and incamped

incamped very near the enemy. Molon, either by ſtratagem, or becauſe he was apprehenſive that the troops might indeed be inclined to join Xenœtas, left all his baggage behind him in the camp, and beginning his march by night, directed his route towards Media. Xenœtas, not doubting but that the retreat of Molon was the effect of fear, and want of confidence in his troops, took poſſeſſion of the camp from which the enemy had retired; and brought over alſo all his Cavalry, together with the baggage, which he had left on the other ſide of the river under the command of Zeuxis. He then aſſembled the troops together, and exhorted them boldly to expect a happy iſſue from the war, ſince Molon had already fled. He ordered them to take their full repaſt, and to be ready at break of day to purſue the enemy. The ſoldiers, being thus filled with confidence, and finding all kinds of proviſions in the camp, began to eat and drink without any moderation or reſtraint; till they fell at laſt into that ſtate of careleſs and inſenſible ſecurity, which is the uſual attendant of exceſs.

But Molon, when he had gained a proper diſtance, ordered his troops to take their ſupper, and then returned again towards the camp; and arriving about break of day, forced the intrenchments, and fell with fury upon the enemy, while they were all diſperſed and drowned in wine. Xenœtas, ſtruck with conſternation, and having in vain employed his efforts to raiſe the ſoldiers from their drunken ſleep, threw himſelf into the middle of the combatants, and loſt his life. The greateſt part of the troops were deſtroyed ſleeping in their beds. The reſt plunged into the river, and hoped to gain the camp that was on the other ſide. But of theſe the greater part were alſo loſt. In a word, diſorder, noiſe, and tumult were ſpread through all the camp. Every mind was filled with horror and diſtraction. In this ſtate, the troops, as they turned their eyes towards the camp on the oppoſite ſhore, which ſtood full in view, and at a very inconſiderable diſtance from them, forgot at once the ſtrength and rapid violence of the ſtream

that

that was between. Blinded therefore by their fears, and urged by the eager hopes of life, they leaped into the river; and even threw into it their horſes and their baggage, as if the ſtream, by ſome kind of providential care, would have aſſiſted them in their diſtreſs, and wafted them to the oppoſite bank in ſafety. But how lamentable, and how full of horror was the ſcene! Men ſtruggling with the waters: horſes alſo, and beaſts of burthen, floating down the ſtream: with arms, dead carcaſes, and every kind of baggage.

Molon, being thus maſter of the camp, paſſed the river without reſiſtance, and gained poſſeſſion alſo of the other camp, from which Zeuxis had retired at his approach. After this ſucceſs, he advanced with all his army to Seleucia, and took it in the firſt aſſault: for Zeuxis ſtill fled before him, together with Diomedon the Governour of the city. From hence he marched through the country, and ſubdued without any difficulty all the upper provinces. Having made himſelf maſter of Babylon, with the country which extends along the borders of the Red Sea, he came to Suſa, and took this city alſo in the firſt aſſault; but failed in his attempt to reduce the citadel, into which Diogenes had thrown himſelf with a body of forces. Leaving therefore one part of his army to inveſt the place, he returned back again with the reſt, to Seleucia upon the Tigris. And having carefully refreſhed his troops, and encouraged them to purſue the war, he again took the field, and ſubdued all the country which lay along the Tigris, and was called Parapotamia, as far as to the city Europus; and all Meſopotamia likewiſe as far as Dura.

The news of theſe rapid victories forced Antiochus, as we have already ſaid, to lay aſide all thoughts of reducing Cœleſyria, and to turn his whole attention upon the danger which ſo nearly threatened him. He aſſembled therefore a ſecond Council, and commanded every one to declare his ſentiments, with reſpect to the meaſures that were moſt proper to be taken, to check the progreſs of the rebels. Epigenes again ſpoke the

firſt, and ſaid, that before the enemy had gained ſuch great advantages, his opinion was, that the King ſhould march himſelf into the country without delay; and that he ſtill perſiſted in the ſame advice. He had ſcarcely ended, when Hermias, giving now full ſcope to his reſentment, vented his rage in ſevere reproaches, and charged Epigenes with many bitter accuſations, which were both abſurd and falſe. He extolled the merit alſo of his own great ſervices; and preſſed the King with the utmoſt earneſtneſs, by no means to deſiſt from his firſt deſign, or abandon, upon ſo ſlight a ſhew of reaſon, the hopes which he had conceived, of joining Cœle-ſyria to his empire. But this conduct gave no ſmall offence to the whole aſſembly. Antiochus himſelf was alſo much diſpleaſed; and employed all his power to quiet the contention: which he at laſt indeed effected, but not without great difficulty. The meaſures which Epigenes had adviſed, were approved by all the Council, as the wiſeſt and moſt neceſſary in the preſent circumſtances. It therefore was reſolved, that all other buſineſs ſhould give place; and that the King ſhould employ all his force againſt the rebels without delay.

As ſoon as the affair was thus decided, Hermias let fall at once all farther conteſt, and conformed himſelf to this opinion, together with the reſt. And declaring alſo, that when a reſolution once was taken, every man was obliged in duty to receive it without objection or excuſe, he applied himſelf in earneſt, and with the greateſt diligence, to make all the neceſſary preparations for the war. But when the troops were drawn together to Apamea, and a ſedition had broken out among them, on account of ſome arrears that were owing to them from their pay, obſerving that the King was filled with conſternation, and ſeemed to fear that this diſorder, having happened at a time ſo critical, might be attended with ſome fatal conſequences, he offered to diſcharge at his own expence the allowance that was due, on condition only, that Epigenes ſhould be diſmiſſed. For he ſaid, that as their mutual conteſts

teſts and reſentment had been raiſed to ſuch a height, it was greatly to be feared, that their preſence together in the army would ſoon prove the ſource of ſome new diſorders, which might be fatal in the conduct of the war. The King, who knew that Epigenes had gained a conſummate ſkill in the art of war, and who wiſhed eſpecially, on that account, that he might attend him in his expedition, received this demand with great reluctance and concern. But being preſſed and cloſely urged on every ſide by the officers of his houſe, and by all his guards and ſervants, whom Hermias by his wicked artifices had engaged in his deſigns, he was no longer maſter of himſelf: but was forced to yield to what the times required; to conſent to all that was propoſed; and to ſend orders to Epigenes, that he ſhould remain at Apamea. The members of the Council were all ſeized with terror. The troops, having obtained their wiſhes, returned again to their duty, and were diſpoſed to advance all the intereſts of Hermias, who had thus procured the payment of their ſtipends. The Cyrrheſtæ alone, who were in number about ſix thouſand men, perſiſted ſtill in their revolt: and having ſeparated themſelves from the reſt of the army, for ſome time occaſioned no ſmall trouble. But they were at laſt defeated in a ſet engagement with one of the Generals of the King; who deſtroyed the greater part of them in the action, and forced the reſt to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Hermias, having thus ſtruck all the friends of the King with terror, and ſecured to himſelf the favour and affection of the army, began his march, together with the King; and about the ſame time alſo, formed the following contrivance to deſtroy Epigenes; having engaged in his deſign Alexis, who commanded in the citadel of Apamea. A Letter was written in the name of Molon to Epigenes, and was placed privately among his papers, by a ſervant whom they had gained by large promiſes to their party. Some time afterwards, Alexis came to Epigenes, and demanded, whether he had not received ſome letters from the rebels. Epigenes, not without ſome ſhew of

indignation, denied the charge. But Alexis, having replied that he would ſearch, entered haſtily into his apartments, found the letter, and upon that pretence immediately killed Epigenes. The King was prevailed on to believe that he had merited his fate: and thoſe that were about the court, though they had ſome ſuſpicion of the treachery, were reſtrained to ſilence by their fears.

The King now advanced towards the Euphrates; and being joined by the forces that were there, he continued his march from thence, and came to Antiochia in Mygdonia, about the beginning of the winter. And having reſted during forty days, till the extreme ſeverity of the cold was paſſed, he again decamped, and arrived at Liba, and there called together his Council, to deliberate on the route by which he ſhould advance againſt the rebels, who were at this time in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and to conſider alſo, by what means the army might moſt commodiouſly be furniſhed with proviſions in their march. In this aſſembly it was urged by Hermias, that they ſhould continue their route along the Tigris: by which means they would be covered not only by that river, but by the Lycus alſo, and the Caprus. Zeuxis, to whoſe view the late lamentable fortune of Epigenes was preſent, for ſome time feared to declare his ſentiments. But as the meaſure that was now propoſed was ſure to be attended with inevitable ruin, he at laſt ventured to adviſe, that they ſhould paſs the Tigris. He ſhewed, "that in general the route along the river was very rough and difficult; that after having advanced to a conſiderable diſtance, and paſſed a deſert alſo, which was not to be traverſed in leſs than ſix days march, they muſt at laſt arrive at the place, that was called the Royal Camp; that if the enemy ſhould firſt have gained poſſeſſion of this poſt, it would be impoſſible for them to advance beyond it; nor could they, on the other hand, return back again through the deſert, without the danger of being loſt in their retreat, through the want of neceſſaries:

ceſſaries: whereas on the other hand, if the King would now paſs the river, it was not to be doubted, but that all the Apollonians would ſeize at once the occaſion of his preſence, and return again to their duty, ſince they were joined to Molon, not by any affection, but by neceſſity and fear; that as the country was rich and fertile, the troops might from thence be furniſhed with proviſions in the greateſt plenty; that Molon, being thus cut off from his return to Media, and deprived of the ſubſiſtence likewiſe which he had hitherto received from all this province, muſt of neceſſity be forced to venture on a battle: or in caſe he ſhould decline it, that his troops would ſoon revolt, and run to embrace the party of the King." This opinion was conſented to by all. They divided the army therefore into three ſeparate bodies; paſſed the river in three different parts, with all their baggage; and came to Dura, which was then beſieged by one of the Generals of Molon. But the ſiege was raiſed upon their firſt approach. They then continued their march forwards without delay, and having on the eighth day paſſed beyond the Oricus, arrived at Apollonia.

When Molon was informed that Antiochus advanced faſt towards him, diſtruſting on the one hand the fidelity of the people of Suſiana and of Babylon, who had ſo lately been conſtrained to join his party, and dreading alſo, on the other hand, that his return to Media might be ſoon cut off, he reſolved to lay a bridge acroſs the Tigris, to tranſport his army over, and poſſeſs himſelf, before Antiochus, of thoſe mountains that ſtood upon the borders of the Apollonian territory; being perſuaded, that with the aſſiſtance of his Cyrtian ſlingers, who were very numerous, he ſhould be able to maintain that poſt againſt the King. This deſign was immediately carried into execution. He paſſed the river, and continued his march forwards with the greateſt haſte. But when he had juſt reached the mountains, his light-armed troops that were ſent before, were met by thoſe of the King, who had alſo

alſo begun his march from Apollonia with all his army. Theſe troops at firſt engaged together in ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes; but as the main bodies now approached, they ſeverally retired, and incamped together with their reſpective armies, leaving the diſtance of about forty ſtadia between the camps.

When night came on, Molon, having conſidered with himſelf how difficult and dangerous it was, to lead an army of rebels againſt their Sovereign, face to face, and in the clear light of day, reſolved to attack Antiochus in the night. He ſelected therefore all the braveſt of his troops, and taking a circuit round, deſigned to chooſe ſome eminence, and to fall from thence upon the Royal camp. But being informed that ten young ſoldiers had left him in the march, and gone to join the King, he was forced to deſiſt from this deſign, and return back again to his own entrenchments, which he entered about break of day, and ſpread great diſorder through all the camp. For the ſoldiers, being thus ſuddenly awakened from their ſleep, were ſo terrified by the noiſe and tumult of his entry, that they began to fly with great precipitation from the camp. Molon employed all his pains to calm their apprehenſions, and, as effectually as the time would then permit, quieted the diſorder.

As ſoon as day appeared, the King, having drawn out all his forces, ranged them in order of battle. Upon the right Wing he placed firſt the Cavalry that were armed with lances, under the command of Ardys, a General of conſummate ſkill and bravery. Next to theſe were the Cretan troops; then the Tectoſages; after theſe, the Grecian mercenaries; and laſt of all, in the ſame line, the Phalanx. Upon the left Wing ſtood the Cavalry, who were called the Companions of the King. The Elephants, which were ten in number, were ſtationed, at certain diſtances, in front of all the army. Some cohorts alſo both of Infantry and Cavalry were diſtributed into both wings; with orders that they ſhould

ſurround the enemy, and fall upon their flank, as ſoon as the battle was begun. The King then went round the army, and raiſed the courage of the troops by a ſhort harangue, ſuch as the time required. He gave the care of the left Wing to Hermias and Zeuxis, and himſelf commanded in the right.

Molon drew out likewiſe all his forces, and ranged them in order of battle, but not without the greateſt difficulty: for the tumult and confuſion, that were raiſed in the night before, had not yet ſubſided. At laſt however, having obſerved the diſpoſition of the enemy, he placed his Cavalry alſo upon the Wings; and the Peltaphori, the Gauls, and all his heavy-armed forces in the centre. The archers, ſlingers, and all the reſt of the light-armed troops were thrown into the extremity of either Wing: and the Chariots, armed with faulchions, were diſpoſed, at certain diſtances, in the front of all the army. The left Wing was commanded by his Brother Neolas, and himſelf led the right.

The two armies now approached each other, and began the combat. The right Wing of Molon remained firm to their engagements, and bravely ſuſtained the charge of Zeuxis. But the left no ſooner had beheld the preſence of the King, than they joined themſelves immediately to his party. This accident as it inſpired the royal troops with double ardour, ſtruck the rebels with conſternation and deſpair. Molon perceiving what had happened, and being already encloſed on every ſide, repreſenting alſo to his mind the cruel torments which he muſt ſoon be forced to ſuffer, in caſe that he ſhould fall alive into the power of the enemy, killed himſelf with his own hands. The reſt of the Chiefs likewiſe, who had joined in the revolt, retired all to their ſeveral houſes, and embraced a voluntary death. Neolas, eſcaping from the battle, fled into Perſis, to Alexander the brother of Molon. And when he had firſt killed Molon's mother, together with his children, and prevailed on Alexander alſo to conſent to die, he then pierced himſelf with his own ſword, and fell

upon their bodies. The King plundered the camp of the rebels; and ordered the body of Molon to be expoſed upon a croſs in the moſt conſpicuous part of Media. This accordingly was done. The body was removed into the diſtrict of Callonitis, and was there fixed upon a croſs, upon the aſcent of the mountain Zagrus. He then reproached the troops with their rebellion, in a long and ſevere harangue; but gave them afterwards his hand in ſign of pardon, and appointed ſome perſons alſo to conduct them back again to Media, and to quiet the diſorders of the country: while himſelf, returning to Seleucia, reſtored peace among the neighbouring provinces, and diſplayed in all his conduct not leſs gentleneſs than prudence. But Hermias, ſtill inexorable and ſevere, urged the guilt of the people of Seleucia; impoſed the payment of a thouſand talents upon the city; drove into baniſhment the magiſtrates; and diſmembered, tortured, and deſtroyed great numbers of the inhabitants. The King exerted all his power to reſtrain this fury; employing ſometimes entreaties and perſuaſions, and ſometimes interpoſing his authority. He leſſened alſo the fine that was at firſt demanded from the citizens, and exacted an hundred and fifty talents only, in full puniſhment of their offence. And thus, though not without great difficulty, he at laſt calmed their minds and reſtored quiet to the city. When this was done he appointed Diogenes to be Governour of Media, and Apollodorus of Suſiana: and ſent Tychon, the chief Secretary, to command in the parts that bordered upon the Red Sea. Such was the end of the revolt of Molon, and of the diſorders that were occaſioned by it in the upper provinces.

The King, elate with this ſucceſs, and being willing alſo to reſtrain for the time to come, the barbarous States that were contiguous to his Kingdom, from aſſiſting his rebellious ſubjects with ſupplies or troops, reſolved now to turn his arms againſt Artabazanes; who governed the Atropatians, with ſome others of the neighbouring nations, and who, of all

all the Princes of the country, was the moſt conſiderable in ſtrength and power. Hermias apprehending ſtill the danger that muſt attend an expedition into theſe upper provinces, for ſome time ſtood averſe to this deſign, and was eager to reſume his former project, of engaging in a war with Ptolemy. But when he heard that a Son was born to the King, he began to reflect within himſelf, that among theſe barbarous nations ſome misfortune poſſibly might happen to Antiochus, and that many occaſions would ariſe, in which he might be deprived of life. He conſented therefore to all that was propoſed: being perſuaded, that if he could once be able to deſtroy the King, he ſhould become the Guardian of his Son, and maſter of all the Kingdom. When the affair was thus decided, Antiochus began his march with all his forces, paſſed beyond the Zagrus, and entered the territory of Artabazanes, which lies cloſe to Media, and is only ſeparated from it by a chain of mountains. It extends towards thoſe parts of the Pontus, which are above the river Phaſis; and approaches alſo very near to the Hyrcanian ſea. The country abounds with people, who are robuſt and valiant; and eſpecially with horſes: and produces likewiſe every kind of neceſſaries that are required in war. This Kingdom, having never been ſubdued by Alexander, had remained entire, from the time of the deſtruction of the Perſian Empire. But Artabazanes, ſtruck with terror at the King's approach, and being alſo at this time very far advanced in age, yielded to the neceſſity that preſſed him, and ſubmitted without reſerve to ſuch conditions as were demanded by the King.

About this time Apollophanes, who was Phyſician to Antiochus, and who ſtood in a high degree of favour with him, obſerving that the inſolence and the ambitious views of Hermias no longer were reſtrained within any bounds, began to entertain ſome apprehenſions with reſpect to the perſon of the King, and was ſtill more alarmed by his fears for his own life and ſafety. He choſe the time therefore that was moſt favour-

able to his purpoſe, and preſſed Antiochus to raiſe himſelf from his ſecurity; to be upon his guard againſt the daring ſpirit of this Miniſter; and to obviate in time that lamentable fate, in which his brother had ſo lately periſhed. He aſſured him, that the danger was already very near; and begged that he would purſue without delay ſuch meaſures as might beſt ſecure both himſelf and all his friends. Antiochus, upon this diſcourſe, acknowledged that he both feared and hated Hermias; and thanked Apollophanes for his concern, and for the courage alſo which he had ſhewn, in ſpeaking to him upon ſuch a ſubject. Apollophanes was overjoyed to find, that he had formed ſo true a judgment of the ſentiments and diſpoſition of the King. And when Antiochus deſired him, not to be content with words alone, but endeavour rather, in conjunction with himſelf, to find out ſome effectual remedy againſt the danger, he aſſured him that he was ready to obey all his orders. Their deſign was ſoon concerted. On pretence that the King was ſeized with a giddineſs in his head, the ſervants of his chamber, with all the ordinary guards, were for ſome days removed, and his friends alone were admitted to his preſence; by which means there was full time and opportunity to communicate the ſecret to ſuch perſons as were proper to be truſted. When they had gained the number that was ſufficient for their purpoſe, a taſk which, as Hermias was ſo generally deteſted, was by no means difficult, they prepared to carry their project into execution. The Phyſicians adviſed that the King ſhould walk abroad as ſoon as it was day, to take the benefit of the cold morning air. At the appointed time, Hermias was ready to attend him, together with thoſe friends that were engaged in the deſign. But the reſt of the court were abſent, not expecting that the King would appear abroad at ſo unuſual an hour. When they were come to a certain ſolitary place at ſome diſtance from the camp, the King turned aſide, as if to ſatisfy ſome neceſſary occaſion, and they then ſtabbed Hermias with their poniards.

Thus

Thus fell this Miniſter, by a puniſhment that was far too gentle for his crimes. Antiochus, being thus delivered from his fears, immediately decamped, and directed his route back again to Syria. In every place through which he paſſed, his actions all were celebrated by the people with the loudeſt praiſe; and above the reſt, the fate which he had decreed to Hermias. About the ſame time alſo, the Wife of Hermias was killed at Apamea by the women of the city, and his children by the children.

As ſoon as the King arrived at home, and had diſmiſſed his army to their winter quarters, he ſent letters to Achæus, filled with expoſtulations and reproaches, on account of his having dared to place upon his head the royal diadem, and uſurped the name of King. He aſſured him likewiſe, that he was well acquainted with the meaſures which he had concerted with king Ptolemy, and that in general, he was perfectly informed of thoſe rebellious projects, which he had deſigned againſt him. For while Antiochus was engaged in his expedition againſt Artabazanes, Achæus, being perſuaded either that the King would periſh in the war, or that, before he could be able to return again from a country ſo remote, himſelf might enter Syria with an army, and with the aſſiſtance of the Cyrrheſtæ, who had juſt before revolted, might force that kingdom to receive his yoke, began his march from Lydia with all his army: and when he arrived at Laodicea in Phrygia, he there firſt aſſumed the Diadem, and wrote letters in the Royal Name to all the cities; being encouraged chiefly in this deſign by a certain Exile whoſe name was Syniris. But as he continued his march forwards, and was ready juſt to enter Lycaonia, the troops beginning to perceive that his intention was to lead them againſt their natural Prince, fell into diſcontent and mutiny. Achæus therefore, after this declaration of their ſentiments, deſiſted from his project: and in order to convince the army, that he never had deſigned to enter Syria, he changed the direction of his march,

march, and pillaged the province of Piſidia. And having thus, by the booty that was made, regained the confidence and favour of the troops, he returned back again to his own home. But Antiochus had been fully informed of all that was deſigned againſt him. He ſent therefore, as we have ſaid, continual meſſengers, to threaten and reproach Achæus; and in the mean while employed his whole pains and diligence, in completing all the neceſſary preparations for his war with Ptolemy.

As the Spring approached, having drawn together to Apamea all his forces, he held there a conſultation with his friends, to deliberate on the manner in which he beſt might enter Cœle-ſyria. Upon this occaſion, when many long diſcourſes had been made, concerning the nature of the country, the preparations that were neceſſary, and the advantage of employing a naval armament, Apollophanes, whom we have lately mentioned, and who was a native of Seleucia, cut ſhort at once every opinion that had been propoſed, and ſaid; "that it ſeemed to be in a high degree abſurd, to ſhew ſo great eagerneſs and haſte to conquer Cœle-ſyria, while at the ſame time Seleucia, the Capital of the Kingdom, and their ſacred ſeat of Empire, was ſtill ſuffered to remain in the hands of Ptolemy: that beſides the diſhonour that was reflected upon the King, from ſuffering his chief city to be poſſeſſed by an Ægyptian garriſon, the place itſelf was ſuch as would afford many very great advantages for the conduct of the war: that while an enemy was maſter of it, it muſt prove a conſtant obſtacle in the way of all their enterprizes; ſince whenever they ſhould attempt to advance into a diſtant province, the danger, which would conſtantly hang over their own kingdom from this city, would oblige them to employ not leſs pains and preparation, to ſecure the ſeveral poſts at home, than thoſe that would be requiſite in their expedition againſt the enemy abroad: but that on the other hand, if they could once regain poſſeſſion of this place, as their own kingdom

would by that means be perfectly ſecured from inſult, ſo the happy ſituation alſo of the city might enable them to purſue with great advantage all their other projects both by land and ſea." Theſe ſentiments were approved by all the Council. It was reſolved therefore to begin the war with attempting to retake Seleucia; which had been poſſeſſed by an Ægyptian garriſon, from the time of Ptolemy Euergetes. For this Prince, in reſentment of the death of Berenice, had entered Syria with an army, and made himſelf maſter of this city. When the affair was thus determined, the King ordered Diognetus to ſteer his courſe towards Seleucia with the fleet, while himſelf began his march from Apamea, and came and incamped near the Circus, at the diſtance of five ſtadia from the city. He ſent alſo Theodotus the Hermionian into Cœle-ſyria, with a ſufficient body of forces, to ſecure the paſſes, and to be ready to act on that ſide as occaſion ſhould require.

The ſituation of Seleucia, with the country round it, is as follows. The city ſtands very near the ſea, between Cilicia and Phœnice; at the foot of a mountain of an uncommon height, which is called Coryphæus. This mountain, on the weſtern ſide, is waſhed by the ſea that divides Cyprus and Phœnice: and on the ſide towards the Eaſt, it commands the country that lies round Antiochia and Seleucia. The city itſelf, being ſituated on the ſouthern ſide of the mountain, and ſeparated from it by a valley very deep and ſteep, winds away towards the ſea, and is ſurrounded on almoſt every ſide by broken rocks and precipices. In the plain, between the city and the ſea, are the Markets and the Suburbs, which are ſtrongly fortified with walls. The city alſo is incloſed with walls, of an uncommon ſtrength and beauty; and is adorned with temples and other ſumptuous edifices. On the ſide towards the ſea, it can only be approached by a ſteep aſcent of ſteps, which are cut cloſe and deep into the rocks. Not far from the city is the mouth of the river Orontes; which takes it's ſource near the Libanus and Antilibanus, and paſſing

through the plains of Amyca, flows on to Antiochia, and, having cleanſed that city of all it's filth, falls at laſt into the ſea of Cyprus near Seleucia,

Antiochus, upon his firſt approach, endeavoured, by the aſſurance of very great rewards, to prevail on the chief governours to ſurrender the city to him. But when all his offers were rejected, he found means to gain ſome of the inferior officers to his party; and truſting to the aſſiſtance which theſe had promiſed, he reſolved immediately to attack the city, on the ſide towards the ſea, with the naval forces, and with the land army, on the oppoſite ſide. He divided the troops therefore into three ſeparate bodies; and having encouraged them as the occaſion required, and promiſed Crowns and great rewards both to the officers and ſoldiers, he poſted Zeuxis, with the forces that were under his command, againſt the gates which led to Antiochia, and Hermogenes on the ſide that looked towards Dioſcurium. Ardys and Diognetus were commanded alſo to attack the port and ſuburbs. For the officers, that were corrupted by the King, had promiſed, that, as ſoon as he ſhould have forced the ſuburbs, they would deliver the city to him. The ſignal was now given for the attack, and the troops advanced from every part with vigour; but chiefly thoſe that were led by Ardys and Diognetus. For on the other ſides, the ſoldiers were forced to crawl, to a conſiderable diſtance, upon their hands and feet, and at the ſame time defend themſelves againſt the enemy, before they could attempt to ſcale the walls. But in the port and ſuburbs, there was full room to advance, and to fix their ladders, even without reſiſtance. While the forces therefore from the fleet ſcaled the port, Ardys, having at the ſame time forced his way into the ſuburbs, became maſter of them with little difficulty. For thoſe that were within the city, being themſelves cloſely preſſed on every ſide, were not able to ſend any aſſiſtance to the reſt. When the King was thus maſter of the ſuburbs, the officers who had been gained over to his intereſts, ran together

to Leontius the Governour of the city, and urged him to ſend a deputation to Antiochus, and endeavour to obtain ſome fair conditions from him, before the city alſo ſhould be ſtormed. Leontius, not ſuſpecting any treachery, and being himſelf ſtruck alſo with the conſternation which theſe men now aſſumed, ſent and demanded from Antiochus a promiſe of life and ſafety for all that were within the city. The King conſented that thoſe who were of free condition ſhould be ſafe. The number of them was about ſix thouſand. He then entered the city, and not only ſpared the inhabitants that were free, but permitted thoſe alſo that had fled from the city to return; and reſtored to them their poſſeſſions, with all their former rights. He ſecured alſo, by a ſufficient garriſon, the port and citadel.

CHAP. VI.

WHILE Antiochus was thus employed, he received letters from Theodotus, who preſſed him to advance into Cœle-ſyria without delay, and promiſed to deliver up the province to him. The King was for ſome time doubtful and irreſolute, and knew not what meaſures were the beſt to be purſued. Theodotus, as we have already mentioned, was an Ætolian by his birth, and had performed great ſervices for Ptolemy; but inſtead of being able to obtain any ſuitable reward, he on the contrary had almoſt loſt his life. At the time therefore in which Antiochus was engaged in his expedition againſt Molon, perceiving clearly that no favour was to be expected from king Ptolemy, and that the courtiers alſo had reſolved to work his ruin, he prevailed on Panætolus to ſecure the city of Tyre, while himſelf ſeized Ptolemais; and now preſſed Antiochus with the greateſt earneſtneſs to attempt the conqueſt of the province. The King therefore, having at laſt reſolved to ſuſpend awhile his deſigns againſt Achæus,

began his march towards Cœle-ſyria, by the ſame route which he before had taken; paſſed through the Vale of Marſyas, and incamped near the fortreſs Gerrha, which was ſituated in the extremity of the valley, upon the lake that covered the defile. But being informed, that Nicolaus, one of the Generals of Ptolemy, had inveſted Theodotus in Ptolemais, he advanced in haſte with the light-armed troops, with deſign to raiſe the ſiege; having left behind him all his heavy forces, and given orders to the Generals to lay ſiege to Brochi, the other fortreſs, which ſtood alſo upon the lake, and ſerved to guard the entrance of the defile. Nicolaus no ſooner heard that the King approached, than he immediately retired; and ſent Lagoras a Cretan, and Dorymenes an Ætolian, to ſecure the paſſes that were near Berytus. But the King, upon his firſt approach, attacked and drove them from their poſt, and incamped near the paſſes. And having there received the reſt of the troops as they came up, and encouraged them by ſuch words as his deſigns required, he continued his march forwards, elate with his ſucceſs, and filled with the faireſt hopes. About this time alſo, Theodotus and Panætolus, with all their friends, advanced to join him, and were received with the greateſt marks of favour. The King then took poſſeſſion of Tyre and Ptolemais, with all the armaments and ſtores. Among theſe were forty veſſels; of which twenty, that were decked ſhips, completely fitted and equipped, carried each of them at leaſt four ranks of oars. The reſt were triremes, biremes, and ſingle boats. The King left the care of all this fleet to Diognetus: and having been informed that Ptolemy had retired to Memphis, and that the forces of the kingdom were drawn together at Peluſium; that the ſluices all were opened, and the ſweet waters diverted from their courſe; he deſiſted from his firſt deſign of marching to attack Peluſium, and leading his army round the country, drew the cities to ſubmiſſion, ſome by gentle means, and ſome by force. For thoſe that were ſlightly fortified ſurrendered to him at his firſt approach.

approach. But others, which were ſtrongly ſituated, and well ſupplied with ſtores, remained firm againſt all perſuaſion, and forced him to incamp before them, and employ much time and pains to reduce them by a regular ſiege.

During this time Ptolemy, whoſe dominions, thus perfidiouſly attacked, demanded the earlieſt care, remained wholly inſenſible of all that was tranſacted, and ſhewed not even the leaſt deſire to revenge the inſult. Such was the weakneſs of this lazy and luxurious Prince: and ſo great his diſregard of every thing that related to the affairs of war. But Soſibius and Agathocles, who were the firſt in the adminiſtration of the kingdom, agreed together to purſue thoſe meaſures, which were indeed the beſt that could be taken in the preſent circumſtances. For they reſolved that they would make all the neceſſary preparations for the war with the greateſt diligence, and in the mean while ſend ambaſſadors to Antiochus to treat of peace: being perſuaded, that by this contrivance they ſhould give a preſent check to the ardour of that Prince, and confirm the opinion which he had conceived of Ptolemy, that he would by no means venture to take arms againſt him, but rather try to terminate the diſpute by conferences, and with the aſſiſtance of his friends prevail upon him to retire again from Cœle-ſyria. When the project was thus concerted, and themſelves alſo charged with the management and execution of it, they diſpatched an embaſſy to Antiochus without delay. At the ſame time they engaged the Rhodians alſo and Byzantines, with the Cyzicenians and Ætolians, to ſend ſome deputies to mediate a peace. And while theſe different embaſſies went and returned again between the kings, they had themſelves full leiſure to complete their preparations for the war. For having fixed their reſidence in Memphis, they there gave audience to the embaſſadors, and received thoſe eſpecially, that came to them from Antiochus, with great marks of favour, but ſent at the ſame time ſecret orders, for drawing together to Alexandria all the mercenaries, that were employed

employed in any of the provinces abroad. They made new levies alſo; and provided ſuch ſupplies of corn and other ſtores, as were ſufficient not only for the troops that were then aſſembled, but for all thoſe likewiſe, who ſhould afterwards arrive to join them. They went down alſo, from time to time, in turn, to Alexandria; that by their preſence all things might be obtained, that were in any manner neceſſary for the war.

The care of providing proper arms, together with the choice and diſpoſition of the troops, was intruſted to Echecrates of Theſſaly, Phoxidas a Melitæan, Eurylochus a Magneſian, Socrates of Bœotia, and Cnopias a citizen of Alorus. For it happened, moſt fortunately indeed at this conjuncture, that theſe men were preſent in the country: who, from having ſerved in the wars of Demetrius and Antigonus, had gained ſome knowledge of real ſervice, and were acquainted with the manner of conducting an army in the field. They began therefore to train all the troops anew, according to the rules of military ſcience: diſtributing into ſeparate bodies, the ſoldiers of a different age or country, and giving to each the moſt uſeful kind of arms, in the room of thoſe to which they had been before accuſtomed. They changed the form of the enrolments in which the troops were regiſtered; and having eſtabliſhed new and different orders, more ſuitable to the preſent times, they taught, by continual exerciſe, every ſeparate body, not only to be obedient to command, but alſo to perform with eaſe all the ſteps and motions, that belonged to their reſpective arms. They appointed alſo general reviews, and ſpared no pains to encourage the troops with hopes, or to inſtruct them in their duty. In this taſk, they received no ſmall aſſiſtance from Andromachus of Aſpendus, and Polycrates of Argos, who had lately arrived from Greece, and brought with them all the ſkill and martial ardour, for which the people of that country are ſo juſtly celebrated. They were both diſtinguiſhed likewiſe by the ſplendor of their families

milies and their wealth. Polycrates eſpecially not only derived his birth from a very antient houſe, but was illuſtrious alſo from the glory which Mnaſiadas his father had acquired, by his victories in the publick Games. Theſe men now exerted all their efforts, to inſtruct and animate the troops: and both by their harangues in publick to the army, as well as by their private admonitions, they by degrees inſpired them with full confidence and courage.

Among the Generals, every one was appointed to the charge which ſeemed moſt perfectly adapted to his talents and peculiar ſkill. Eurylochus the Magneſian commanded a body of three thouſand men, who were called the Royal Guard; and Socrates of Bœotia the Peltaſtæ, in number about two thouſand. Phoxidas the Achæan, with Ptolemy the ſon of Thraſeas and Andromachus of Aſpendus, exerciſed together in a body the Phalanx and the Grecian mercenaries. The Phalanx, which conſiſted of twenty-five thouſand men, was commanded by Ptolemy and Andromachus: and the mercenaries, who were about eight thouſand, by Phoxidas. Seven hundred Horſe which belonged alſo to the Royal Guard, the Cavalry from Afric, and that which had been levied in the country, the whole amounting to about three thouſand, were both exerciſed and commanded likewiſe by Polycrates. Echecrates alſo the Theſſalian, to whom the Grecian and all the foreign Cavalry, to the number of two thouſand, was intruſted, had trained and diſciplined them with ſuch perfect ſkill and judgment, that they performed the greateſt ſervice afterwards in the battle. But among all the reſt, there was none that ſurpaſſed Cnopias of Alorus, in the management of the troops that were intruſted to his care. Theſe were ten thouſand Cretans; among whom were a thouſand Neocretans, commanded by Philo, a citizen of Cnoſſus. There were alſo among the troops three thouſand Africans, armed after the Macedonian manner, and led by Ammonius of Barce; and a Phalanx likewiſe of Ægyptians, compoſed of twenty thouſand

thouſand men, and commanded by Soſibius. They had alſo a body of Gauls and Thracians; among whom four thouſand were the eſtabliſhed troops that had long been ſettled in the country; and two thouſand of them were lately raiſed. At the head of theſe was Dionyſius, who was by birth a Thracian. Such were the numbers, and the different nations, of which the army of Ptolemy was now compoſed.

During this time Antiochus continued to preſs the ſiege of Dura. But his efforts all were fruitleſs: both becauſe the place was by nature ſtrongly fortified, and the garriſon alſo reinforced from time to time by the care of Nicolaus. As the winter therefore now approached, he yielded to the ambaſſadors of Ptolemy, conſented to a truce of four months continuance, and declared, that he was even ready to put an end to the whole diſpute, upon conditions the moſt juſt and reaſonable. This aſſurance was however very different from his real ſentiments. But he was now impatient to return, that his troops might take their winter quarters in Seleucia. For it was now clear beyond all doubt, that Achæus had formed deſigns againſt him, and was joined in cloſe connection with king Ptolemy. He diſmiſſed therefore the ambaſſadors, with orders that they ſhould haſten to return again, and meet him at Seleucia, bringing with them the laſt determination of their maſter. He then placed garriſons in all the proper poſts, and having left the care of the province to Theodotus, began his march back towards Seleucia, and there ſent his army into winter quarters. Nor was he, after this time, in the leaſt ſollicitous to exerciſe the troops: being perſuaded that the diſpute would ſoon be brought to a deciſion, without having recourſe again to arms. For he flattered himſelf, that as he already had ſubdued many parts of Cœle-ſyria and Phœnice, the reſt would be yielded to him in a conference; and that Ptolemy would never dare to riſk a general battle. His ambaſſadors were alſo fixed in the ſame opinion; being deceived by the civilities that were ſhewn towards them by Soſibius. For this Mi-

niſter had detained them with him ſtill at Memphis, and covered from their knowledge all the preparations, that were at the ſame time made at Alexandria. By this artful management, when the ambaſſadors again returned, he was himſelf alike prepared either for peace or war.

But Antiochus, as he had already ſubdued his enemies in the field, reſolved, if poſſible, to ſhew himſelf ſuperior alſo in the conferences. When the ambaſſadors therefore met him at Seleucia, and began to propoſe the conditions of the peace agreeably to their inſtructions from Soſibius, the King declared, that it was abſurd to ſay, that he had offered any injury to Ptolemy, by entering Cœle-ſyria with an army; ſince he had endeavoured only to recover the poſſeſſion of a country, which belonged to him by a proper right. He ſhewed, that Antigonus, who was ſurnamed Cocles, had firſt ſubdued this province; and that Seleucus afterwards obtained poſſeſſion of it: that his own claim was founded upon theſe ſtrong titles, too clear to be diſputed; and that from thence it muſt be acknowledged, that the country belonged to him alone, and not to Ptolemy. That it was true indeed, that Ptolemy had declared war againſt Antigonus; but that he had no deſign to join the province to his own dominions, but only to ſecure the ſovereignty of it to Seleucus. Above all the reſt he urged the joint determination of the Kings, Lyſimachus, Caſſander, and Seleucus: who, when they had defeated Antigonus in battle, reſolved with one conſent that all Syria ſhould be yielded to Seleucus.

In reply to all theſe reaſons, the ambaſſadors on the other ſide inſiſted with no ſmall earneſtneſs, that the treaſon of Theodotus, and the invaſion of Cœle-ſyria by Antiochus, were a groſs and notorious inſult, and an open violation of the rights of Ptolemy. They ſaid that Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus had fairly acquired the ſovereignty of the province: and that the aſſiſtance which he had furniſhed to Seleucus in the war, was expreſſly ſent upon theſe conditions; that Seleucus ſhould

poſſeſs

poſſeſs all Aſia, but that Cœle-ſyria and Phœnice ſhould be left to Ptolemy.

In this manner was the conteſt long ſupported, in the courſe of many deputations and debates, without any proſpect of agreement. For as the conferences all were held by the friends alone of either party, there were none that could interpoſe between them, to moderate and reſtrain their warmth, whenever they attempted to extend their claims beyond the bounds of juſtice. The buſineſs alſo of Achæus was found to be a matter even of greater difficulty than the reſt. For it was ſtrongly urged by Ptolemy, that he ſhould be included in the treaty. But Antiochus would ſcarcely ſuffer it to be propoſed; but exclaimed againſt it as a moſt intolerable inſult, that Ptolemy ſhould preſume to interpoſe in favour of a Traitor, or even ſo much as name a man who had rebelled againſt his natural Prince.

While each ſide thus endeavoured to maintain their ground, the ſpring at laſt came on, before the conteſt was in any point decided. Antiochus therefore drew together all his forces, deſigning to attack Cœle-ſyria both by land and ſea, and make himſelf maſter of the other parts of the province. At the ſame time Ptolemy, having intruſted the conduct of the war to Nicolaus, ſent large ſupplies of ſtores to Gaza, and ordered his fleet to advance, together with a land army. When the troops arrived, the General in concert with Perigenes, who commanded the naval forces, and who was ready to comply with all his orders, began, with great alacrity, to make the neceſſary diſpoſition for ſecuring the country againſt the enemy. The fleet was compoſed of thirty decked veſſels, with more than four hundred ſhips of tranſport. Nicolaus himſelf was an Ætolian by birth; and was not inferior, either in courage or experience, to any of the Generals of Ptolemy. He ſent away a part of his army, to poſſeſs themſelves of the defiles of Platanus; while himſelf, incamping with the reſt near Porphyreon, reſolved, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet

which was ſtationed near him, to oppoſe on that ſide the entrance of the king.

Antiochus, arriving now at Marathos, and being met there by the people of Aradus, who came to offer to him their aſſiſtance in the war, not only received them into his alliance, but quieted alſo ſome contentions which had been long maintained between the Aradians of the iſland, and thoſe that lived upon the continent. He then entered Syria, along the mountain called Theoproſopon, and came to Berytus: having taken Botrys in his march, and ſet fire to Calamus and Trieres. And when he had ſent away Nicarchus and Theodotus, to ſecure the paſſes that were near the river Lycus, he from thence continued his march forwards, and incamped upon the banks of the Damura; being ſtill followed by his fleet, which ſailed along the coaſt as he advanced, under the command of Diognetus. From this place, being now joined again by Theodotus and Nicarchus, with the light-armed troops, he advanced to take a view of thoſe defiles that were poſſeſſed by Nicolaus; and having carefully obſerved the nature of the ground, as well as the ſtrength and ſituation of the ſeveral poſts, he then returned back again to his camp.

On the following day, having left behind him all his heavy forces under the care of Nicarchus, he advanced with the reſt of the army, to attack the enemy in theſe defiles. The place, in which Nicolaus now was poſted, was a narrow ground, which lay between mount Libanus and the ſea, and was covered alſo by an eminence, very rough and ſteep, which left the paſſage along the ſhore extremely cloſe and difficult. He had placed in every part that was commodious for it a numerous body of troops; and having thrown up alſo various works, he flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able, without much difficulty, to prevent the enemy from penetrating through the paſſes.

Antiochus

Antiochus divided all his forces into three ſeparate bodies, and gave one of them to Theodotus, with orders that he ſhould diſlodge the enemy from their poſts at the foot of the mountain Libanus; and that the ſecond, which was led by Menedemus, at the ſame time ſhould employ their utmoſt efforts, to force their paſſage along the middle of the eminence. The laſt diviſion was poſted cloſe upon the ſhore under the command of Diocles, the Governour of Parapotamia. The King himſelf, attended by his guards, took his ſtation in the middle; that from thence he might be able to diſcern all that paſſed, and to ſend aſſiſtance, as occaſion ſhould require. At the ſame time Diognetus and Perigenes made all things ready for the engagement; having drawn their fleets very near to ſhore, and formed them into ſuch a diſpoſition, that they ſeemed to make one front with their reſpective armies. The ſignal now was made, and the battle at once begun both by land and ſea. Upon the ſea, becauſe the ſtrength and numbers of the combatants were nearly equal, the ſucceſs was alſo equal. But by land, Nicolaus, aſſiſted by his ſituation, at firſt gained ſome advantage in the action. But when Theodotus, having forced the enemy from their poſts along the foot of the mountain, fell afterwards with violence upon them from the higher ground, they then fled with great precipitation. About two thouſand of them were killed in the purſuit, and an equal number taken priſoners. The reſt eſcaped to Sidon. Perigenes alſo, though he had hitherto maintained the fight upon the ſea with the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs, no ſooner ſaw that the army was completely routed, than he was ſtruck with conſternation, and retreated likewiſe with the fleet towards the ſame place without any loſs.

Antiochus, taking with him all his forces, came and incamped before Sidon. But as the city was completely filled with ſtores, and the number of the inhabitants, who were now alſo joined by thoſe that had fled from the late engagement, very great, he made no attempt to take the place: but

but continued his march forwards towards Philoteria; and ſent orders to Diognetus, that he ſhould ſail with the fleet to Tyre. Philoteria lies cloſe upon the borders of that lake, into which the river Jordan enters; and from whence, flowing out again, it paſſes through thoſe plains in which the city of Scythopolis is ſituated. The King, having obtained poſſeſſion of both theſe places, which were ſurrendered to him upon conditions, was now filled with the faireſt hopes, with regard to the final iſſue of the war. For the country, that was ſubject to theſe cities, was ſuch as would afford very large ſupplies, ſufficient for all the army: and furniſh them with every kind of neceſſaries, in the greateſt plenty. Having left in both a proper garriſon, he then paſſed beyond the mountains, and came to Atabyrium; which was ſituated upon a hill of a globular form, whoſe height was more than fifteen ſtadia. In order to become maſter of this city, he employed the following ſtratagem. Having engaged the inhabitants in a ſkirmiſh, he directed his own troops to retreat, as if they had fled before them: and when he had thus drawn the enemy to a conſiderable diſtance, facing ſuddenly round again, and at the ſame time ſending orders to ſome troops that were placed in ambuſcade to riſe and join in the attack, he killed great numbers of them, and purſuing cloſely after thoſe that fled, took advantage of their conſternation, and entered the city with them without reſiſtance.

About this time, Ceræas, one of the Generals of Ptolemy, came and joined Antiochus; who received him with ſuch high marks of honour, that many other commanders were ſoon afterwards induced to follow the example. Among theſe was Hippolochus of Theſſaly; who brought likewiſe with him a body of four hundred horſe.

The King, having ſecured Atabyrium by a garriſon, began his march; and as he advanced, took Pella, Camus, and Gephrus. After this ſucceſs, all the people who inhabited the neighbouring places of Arabia, urged each other to ſubmit,

mit, and with one conſent embraced his party. Having received therefore from them ſome proviſions for his army, he again continued his march forwards, full of joy and confidence, and paſſing through the diſtrict of Gladiatis, made himſelf maſter of Abila, taking priſoners alſo the troops that were drawn together for it's defence, under the command of Nicias, who was the kinſman and friend of Meneas. Gadara, which was eſteemed to be the ſtrongeſt of all the cities that were in that part of the country, ſtill remained to be ſubdued. But no ſooner had the King incamped before it, and begun to advance his works, than the inhabitants were ſtruck with terror, and ſurrendered. Being now informed, that the enemy had aſſembled in great numbers, at Rabatamana, a city of Arabia, and from thence made incurſions upon the lands of thoſe Arabians who had ſubmitted to him, he immediately began his march in haſte, and came and incamped near the hills, upon which the city was built. And when he had ſurveyed it round on every ſide, and remarked that there were two places only by which it was poſſible to approach it, he there planted his machines, and made the neceſſary diſpoſition for the attack. The batteries on one ſide were commanded by Nicarchus, and on the other by Theodotus; while the King attended alike to both with equal vigilance, and obſerved the zealous emulation of the Generals. As the attack was made by both with the greateſt vigour, and each contended to be the firſt in battering down the part againſt which his own machines were pointed, on a ſudden, when it ſcarcely was expected, the wall on both ſides fell. After this ſucceſs, they renewed their aſſaults againſt the place continually, with the utmoſt force and fury, both by night and day. As the numbers however of thoſe that were within the city were very great, their efforts all were ineffectual. But after ſome time, being informed, by one of the priſoners that were taken, of a certain ſubterraneous paſſage, from which the beſieged were ſupplied with water, they filled the mouth

of it with wood, and ſtones, and other ſuch materials: and thus in a ſhort time forced the inhabitants, through want of water, to ſurrender. The King left Nicarchus in the place with a ſufficient garriſon: and ſent away Hippolochus and Ceræas, with a body of five thouſand Infantry, towards Samaria; to cover the frontiers of the country from all inſult, and to protect the people who had ſubmitted to him. He then began his march to Ptolemais with all the army, deſigning to paſs the winter in that city.

CHAP. VII.

IN the courſe of the ſame ſummer, the Pedneliſſians being beſieged by the Selgians, and reduced to great extremity, ſollicited ſome aſſiſtance from Achæus: and having obtained a favourable anſwer, they ſuſtained the ſiege with conſtancy, in the hope that in a ſhort time they ſhould be relieved. Achæus ſent accordingly to their aſſiſtance Garſyeris, with ſix thouſand Infantry, and five hundred Horſe. The Selgians, being informed of his approach, poſted the greateſt part of their troops in the defile called Climax; ſecured the approaches to Saporda; and broke up all the roads. Garſyeris, continuing ſtill to advance, entered Milyas, and incamped near Cretopolis. But when he found that the enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of all the paſſes, and ſtopped his farther progreſs, he employed the following ſtratagem. Having ordered his army to decamp, he directed his route back again, as if he had loſt all hope of being able to ſuccour the beſieged. The Selgians, not ſuſpecting any fraud, left their poſts, and retired, ſome of them to their camp, and ſome into the city: for it was now the time of harveſt. But Garſyeris, returning in a ſhort time afterwards by quick and continued marches, ſeized the paſſes, which were left without defence; and having ſecured them all by ſufficient guards, under the command of Phaylus,

Phaylus, he advanced with the reſt of his troops to Perga: and from thence ſent deputations to all the people of Piſidia and Pamphylia, exhorting them to ſecure themſelves in time againſt the growing power of the Selgians, to enter into an alliance with Achæus, and to join their forces with him to aſſiſt the Pedneliſſians. In the mean while the Selgians, being perſuaded that, by their knowledge of the country, they ſhould ſoon be able to ſtrike a terror into Phaylus, ſent away a body of troops to diſlodge him from his poſts. But ſo far were they from being able to accompliſh their deſign, that, on the contrary, they loſt many of their men. They deſiſted therefore from this attempt, and returning again to the buſineſs of the ſiege, began to preſs the city more cloſely than before.

About this time, the Etenneans, who inhabited the mountainous parts of Piſidia beyond Sida, joined Garſyeris with eight thouſand heavy-armed troops; and the people of Aſpendus with four thouſand. But thoſe of Sida refuſed to take any part in this confederacy: partly becauſe they were diſpoſed to favour the intereſts of Antiochus; but chiefly, becauſe they hated the Aſpendians. Garſyeris, having increaſed his army by theſe new forces, advanced towards Pedneliſſus; being perſuaded that the Selgians, upon his firſt approach, would raiſe the ſiege. But as he was wholly diſappointed in this hope, he incamped at a moderate diſtance from them; and being deſirous to relieve the Pedneliſſians, who were now much preſſed by famine, he ordered two thouſand men, carrying each a meaſure of corn, to enter the city in the night: but the Selgians, informed of their approach, fell upon them in their march, killed the greateſt part of the detachment, and carried away the corn. After this ſucceſs, they reſolved not only ſtill to preſs the ſiege of the city as before, but even to inveſt Garſyeris alſo in his camp. For in the affairs of war, the Selgians are always very bold and enterprizing, even to raſhneſs.

Leaving therefore behind them the forces only, that were neceſſary to guard their own intrenchments, they advanced with the reſt of their army, and fell with fury upon the camp of the enemy, in many parts at once. Garſyeris, being thus ſuddenly beſet with danger upon every ſide, and perceiving that in many places his intrenchments were already forced, ſent away all his Cavalry, through a certain paſſage that was left open by the enemy. The Selgians, imagining that they had retreated from the camp through fear, and were haſtening to eſcape by flight, made no attempt to intercept or ſtop them. But theſe troops having taken a circuit round, fell ſuddenly upon the enemy in their rear, with great force and fury. The Infantry alſo, though they were almoſt forced from the intrenchments, reſumed again their courage, and returned boldly to the charge. The Selgians, being thus preſſed on every ſide, were at laſt conſtrained to fly. At the ſame time the Pedneliſſians from the city attacked the troops that were left to guard the intrenchments, and drove them from their camp. As they all fled different ways, not fewer than ten thouſand of them were deſtroyed in the purſuit. Among thoſe that were able to eſcape, the allies retired to their reſpective cities; and the Selgians, directing their flight acroſs the mountains, returned back again to their own country.

Garſyeris immediately decamped, and purſued with the greateſt haſte: deſigning to paſs through the defiles, and to appear in ſight of Selga, before the inhabitants ſhould be recovered from their conſternation, or find time to take the meaſures that were neceſſary for their defence. He came accordingly, with all his army, and incamped near the city. The Selgians, diſheartened by their late defeat, and not expecting any farther ſuccours from their allies, who had alſo been involved in the ſame misfortune, began to apprehend, that both their country and themſelves were now loſt without reſource. Having called together therefore an Aſſembly, they

reſolved to depute to Garſyeris one of their citizens, whoſe name was Logbaſis. This man had been the gueſt and intimate friend of that Antiochus who died in Thrace: and having been intruſted by him at his death, with the charge of Laodice, who was afterwards married to Achæus, he had educated her, as his own proper daughter, with a true parental tenderneſs and care. The Selgians therefore were perſuaded, that no one was more fit to be employed at this conjuncture. But Logbaſis, when he had entered into private conference with Garſyeris, ſo far forgot his duty to his country, that inſtead of performing the ſervice that was expected from him, he on the contrary preſſed this General to ſend and call Achæus without delay, and promiſed to betray the city to them. Garſyeris received this offer with the greateſt joy, and immediately diſpatched ſome meſſengers to inform Achæus of the accident. And having conſented to a truce with the Selgians, he found means to delay from time to time the concluſion of the treaty, inventing ſtill new doubts and difficulties, with deſign to afford full leiſure for Achæus to arrive, and that Logbaſis might be able alſo to prepare, in concert with himſelf, the meaſures that were neceſſary for the execution of the project.

During this time, as frequent deputations went and returned on either ſide, it grew at laſt to be the common practice of the ſoldiers, to go from the camp into the city, to procure proviſions: an indulgence, which in various inſtances has proved the cauſe of utter ruin and deſtruction. For my own part indeed, I am inclined to believe, that man, who is eſteemed more dexterous and artful than any other animal, is in truth of all moſt open to ſurprize and fraud. How many camps and garriſons, how many of the ſtrongeſt cities, have fallen a prey to this very kind of treachery? Yet though the examples are thus frequent and notorious, we ſtill, I know not how, are novices, with reſpect to all ſuch enterprizes, through the want of paying a due attention to thoſe misfortunes in which others, from their negligence, have been involved. We em-

ploy great pains and coſt, to draw together money and ſtores, to fortify our towns with walls, and to fill our magazines with arms, in order to ſecure ourſelves againſt all ſudden accidents; but totally neglect thoſe means of ſafety, which may be acquired with far greater eaſe, and which afford a ſure reſource in every dangerous conjuncture; I mean that knowledge of all paſt tranſactions, which is ſupplied by Hiſtory, and which always may be gained, with not leſs pleaſure than advantage, even in the ſhade of a ſafe and honourable repoſe.

Achæus arrived at the expected time; and the Selgians, after they had been admitted to a conference with him, flattered themſelves with the hope, that they ſhould be able to obtain the moſt favourable terms of peace. Logbaſis, who from time to time had drawn together in ſmall numbers to his houſe the ſoldiers that came into the city from the camp, now preſſed the citizens to aſſemble all the people, to take advantage of the favourable diſpoſition of Achæus, and to bring the treaty to it's laſt concluſion. The Selgians met together therefore in a general Aſſembly; and, as if they had been ſecure of bringing the affair to a ſpeedy iſſue, permitted even the guards to retire from their ſeveral poſts. At this time Logbaſis, having given the ſignal to the enemy, ordered the ſoldiers that were with him to ſtand ready for the engagement, and armed himſelf alſo and his Sons. Achæus, taking with him one half of his forces, approached near the city; while Garſyeris with the reſt directed his march towards a Temple of Jupiter, called Ceſbedium, which ſtood as a kind of citadel, and commanded all the city. But a certain Shepherd, having perceived by accident what was done, informed the Aſſembly of it. The ſoldiers ran in haſte, one part towards Ceſbedium, and the reſt to the other poſts; and the people, inflamed with rage, to the houſe of Logbaſis. And finding there a clear diſcovery of the treaſon, ſome of them climbed up to the roof, while others forced their entrance through the doors, and killed Logbaſis and his Sons, and all the reſt that

were

were with him in the houſe. They then proclaimed liberty to the ſlaves, and having divided themſelves into ſeveral bodies, took poſſeſſion of all the advantageous poſts. When Garſyeris ſaw, that Ceſbedium was already ſecured againſt him, he deſiſted at once from his deſign. Achæus on the contrary endeavoured to force his entrance through the gates. But the Selgians advanced againſt him, killed ſeven hundred of his men, and at laſt conſtrained him to retire again, with Garſyeris, towards his camp. But after this ſucceſs, being apprehenſive that ſome diſorders might happen in the city, and dreading alſo the dangers of a ſiege, they deputed ſome of their oldeſt citizens, in the habits of ſubmiſſion, to Achæus; who conſented to a treaty with them upon theſe conditions: "That they ſhould immediately pay four hundred Talents, and after a certain time, three hundred more: and reſtore all their priſoners to the Pedneliſſians." Thus the Selgians by their bravery ſaved their country from the ruin, which the impious treachery of Logbaſis had almoſt brought upon it; and diſplayed ſuch courage as indeed was worthy of a free and generous people, deſcended from the ſtock of Sparta. Achæus, having reduced Milyas, with the greater part alſo of Pamphylia, continued his march to Sardes; and from thence made perpetual incurſions into the territories of Attalus; threatened Pruſias with a war; and became very formidable to all the States, that were on this ſide of mount Taurus.

During the time in which Achæus was employed in the ſiege of Selga, Attalus, taking with him a body of the Gauls called Tectoſages, advanced through the country to recover again the towns of Æolis, with the reſt of the cities alſo that were near, which through terror had ſubmitted to Achæus. The greater part of theſe immediately ſurrendered, and were even pleaſed to be received under his protection. A ſmall number only were reduced by force. Among the firſt were Cyme, Smyrna, and Phocæa. Temnus alſo and Ægea were ſtruck with terror at his approach, and readily ſubmitted. The

Teians

Teians and the Colophonians ſent ſome deputies to meet him, and ſurrendered their cities at diſcretion. He granted to them the ſame conditions as before, and took ſome hoſtages of their fidelity. But among all the reſt, the ambaſſadors from Smyrna were received with the greateſt marks of favour; becauſe the people of that city had perſiſted always in a cloſe attachment to his intereſts. From hence, continuing his march forwards, and paſſing the river Lycus, he traverſed Myſia, ſtruck with terror the garriſons of Didyma and Carſa, and gained poſſeſſion of both thoſe fortreſſes, which were ſurrendered to him by Themiſtocles, whom Achæus had intruſted with the government of that part of the country. Having then waſted all the plain of Apia, he paſſed the mountain Pelecas, and came and incamped near the river Megiſtus. During his ſtay in this place, there happened to be an Eclipſe of the moon. The Gauls, who had long ſupported with the greateſt pain the difficulty of a march, in which their wives and children followed them in chariots, regarded this event as an evil portent, and refuſed to advance any farther. Attalus, though he now no longer wanted the aſſiſtance of theſe troops, and had experienced likewiſe, that in all their marches they were ſtill ſeparated from the other forces, that they alſo incamped apart, and were at all times haughty and untractable, was thrown however by this accident into great perplexity. For as he dreaded, on the one hand, that they would now join Achæus, and fall, together with that Prince, upon ſome part of his dominions, ſo on the other hand, he was no leſs apprehenſive, that he ſhould draw upon himſelf the cenſure of mankind, in caſe that he ſhould ſurround them with the reſt of his army, and thus deſtroy a body of men who had truſted themſelves to his protection, and under that ſecurity had followed him into Aſia. At laſt therefore he reſolved to ſeize the occaſion of their preſent diſcontent, and promiſed that he would lead them to a place from whence they might again paſs into Europe; that he would allot a country alſo to them, ſufficient for their ſettlement;

tlement; and for the time to come, be always ready to advance their intereſts, and comply with every juſt demand. He conducted them accordingly to the Helleſpont: and having ſhewn great marks of favour to the inhabitants of Ilium, Lampſacus, and Alexandria, who had all remained firm in their attachment to him, he then returned to Pergamus with his army.

CHAP. VIII.

WHEN the Spring approached, Antiochus and Ptolemy, having completed all their preparations, were now ready by a battle to decide the war. Ptolemy therefore began his march from Alexandria, with ſeventy thouſand Foot, five thouſand Horſe, and ſeventy-three Elephants. Antiochus, being informed of his approach, drew together alſo all his forces. His army was compoſed of five thouſand light-armed troops, Daians, Carmanians, and Cilicians, under the command of Byttacus a Macedonian; and twenty thouſand men, ſelected from all parts of the kingdom, armed after the Macedonian manner, and led by Theodotus the Ætolian, who had deſerted from the ſervice of king Ptolemy. The greater part of theſe wore ſilver bucklers. There was a Phalanx alſo of twenty thouſand men, commanded by Nicarchus and Theodotus the Hermionian: two thouſand Agrianians and Perſians, armed with bows and ſlings, and with them a thouſand Thracians; under the care of Menedemus, a citizen of Alabanda: five thouſand Medes, Ciſſians, Caddufians, and Carmanians, who received their orders from Aſpaſianes a Mede: ten thouſand men from Arabia, and the neighbouring countries, conducted by Zabdiphilus: five thouſand Grecian mercenaries, commanded by Hippolochus of Theſſaly; fifteen hundred Cretans, by Eurylochus; and a thouſand Neocretans, by Zeles of Gortyna: a thouſand Cardacians, and five hundred Lydian archers,

archers, under the conduct of Lyſimachus a Gaul. The number of the Cavalry was about ſix thouſand. Four thouſand of them were commanded by Antipater, the Brother of the King; and the reſt by Themiſon. Thus the whole army of Antiochus conſiſted of ſeventy-two thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe; with an hundred and two Elephants.

Ptolemy, advancing to Peluſium, and having waited there to receive the troops that were not yet come up, and to diſtribute proviſions among his army, again decamped, and paſſing through a dry and deſart country, along mount Caſius, and the place that was called the Pits, arrived at Gaza. And having allowed ſome time for the refreſhment of his army, he continued his route forwards by ſlow and gentle marches, and on the fifth day fixed his camp at the diſtance of fifty ſtadia from the city of Raphia; which is ſituated beyond Rhinocorura, and ſtands the neareſt towards Ægypt, of all the cities of Cœle-ſyria.

At the ſame time Antiochus alſo began his march, and paſſing beyond Raphia, came and incamped, in the night, at the diſtance of ten ſtadia from the enemy. But within ſome days afterwards, being deſirous to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome more advantageous poſts, and at the ſame time to inſpire his troops with confidence, he advanced ſo near to Ptolemy, that the armies were now ſeparated from each other by the diſtance only of five ſtadia. Frequent engagements therefore happened every day between the troops, that went abroad to get water, or proviſions; and many ſkirmiſhes, both of the Infantry and Cavalry, in the ſpace that was between the camps.

During this time, Theodotus formed an attempt, that was worthy indeed of an Ætolian, but which ſhewed no ſmall degree of courage and enterprizing boldneſs. From his long acquaintance with the court of Ptolemy, he knew all the cuſtoms of the King, and the manner in which he lived. Attended therefore by no more than two companions, he went over

over to the camp of the enemy, a little before break of day. As the darkneſs ſcreened his face from all diſcovery, ſo his habit likewiſe paſſed unobſerved, becauſe there were various kinds of dreſſes in the camp. He advanced boldly therefore to the Royal Tent, which in the late ſkirmiſhes he had eaſily remarked, and entered it unnoticed by the guards. But he found not the perſon whom he ſought. For this indeed was the Tent of State, in which the King uſually ſupped, and admitted his friends to audience: but he ſlept in a different tent. Theodotus therefore, when he had ſearched in vain in every corner, wounded two officers that were ſleeping there, and killed Andreas the Phyſician of the King, and then returned again with ſafety; having received ſome ſlight diſturbance only as he left the camp. And thus, as far as courage only was required, he fully accompliſhed his deſign. But he failed through want of prudence, in not having examined with the neceſſary care, in what part of the camp the King was uſed to ſleep.

The two Kings, when they had thus for five days remained in ſight, reſolved at laſt to engage in a deciſive action. As ſoon therefore as Ptolemy began firſt to put his troops in motion, Antiochus alſo drew out all his forces, and ranged them in order of battle. The Phalanxes, on either ſide, with the reſt of the troops likewiſe that were armed after the Macedonian manner, ſtood oppoſite to each other in the centre. The wings, on the part of Ptolemy, were thus diſpoſed. Upon the left ſtood Polycrates, with the Cavalry that was under his command. Between him and the Phalanx, were firſt the Cretan forces; after theſe the Royal Guards; then the Peltaſtæ, led by Socrates; and in the laſt place, cloſe joining to the Phalanx, the Africans, armed after the manner of the Macedonians. Upon the right Wing, ſtood Echecrates with his Cavalry. Cloſe to him upon his left, were placed firſt the Gauls and Thracians; next to theſe, the Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Phoxidas; and after them,

the Phalanx of Ægyptians. Forty of the Elephants were poſted on the left Wing, in which Ptolemy himſelf deſigned to engage; and thirty-three upon the right, at ſome diſtance before the mercenary Cavalry.

Antiochus placed ſixty of his elephants, under the command of Philip, who was his foſter-brother, before the right Wing, which he deſigned to lead himſelf to the charge againſt Ptolemy. Behind the Elephants, were two thouſand Horſe, commanded by Antipater, and cloſe to theſe two thouſand more, which were ranged in the figure called the Forceps. Joining to the Cavalry, in front, ſtood firſt the Cretans; then the Grecian mercenaries: and between theſe and the troops that were armed after the Macedonian manner, the five thouſand men that were under the command of Byttacus a Macedonian. On the left wing ſtood Themyſon, with two thouſand Cavalry. Next to theſe were the Lydian and Cardacian Archers; then the light-armed troops of Menedemus, which amounted to about three thouſand; afterwards the Ciſſians, Medes and Carmanians; and laſtly, joining to the Phalanx, the forces from Arabia, and the neighbouring countries. The remaining part of the Elephants were poſted alſo before this Wing, under the command of Myiſcus, one of the young men that had been educated with the King.

When the armies were thus ranged in order, and ready to engage, the two kings, attended by their officers and friends, advanced along the front of all the Line, and endeavoured to inſpire their troops with courage; eſpecially the Phalanxes, in which they had placed their greateſt hopes. Upon this occaſion Ptolemy was accompanied by his ſiſter Arſinoë, and by Soſibius alſo, and Andromachus; Antiochus, by Theodotus and Nicarchus: for theſe, on both ſides, were the Generals, by whom the Phalanxes were commanded. The motives that were urged to animate the troops were on either ſide the ſame. For as theſe princes had both been ſeated ſo lately upon the throne, and had themſelves performed no actions

that

that were worthy to be mentioned, they were forced to have recourſe alike to the fame and great exploits of their reſpective anceſtors. But above all the reſt, they promiſed alſo on their own part, great rewards, as well to every officer apart, as in general to all the army; and in a word, employed not exhortations only, but prayers alſo and intreaties, to engage them to perform their duty with alacrity and vigour.

In this manner, riding along from rank to rank, they addreſſed all the troops in turn, ſometimes by themſelves, and ſometimes by Interpreters. But when Ptolemy with his Siſter, came to the left Wing of his army, and Antiochus, attended by his guards, had taken his ſtation alſo upon his right, the ſignal was ſounded to engage, and the elephants approaching firſt, began the combat. Among thoſe that belonged to Ptolemy, there were ſome that advanced boldly againſt their adverſaries. It was then pleaſing to behold the ſoldiers engaged in cloſe combat from the Towers, and puſhing againſt each other with their ſpears. But the Beaſts themſelves afforded a far nobler ſpectacle as they ruſhed together, front to front, with the greateſt force and fury. For this is the manner in which they fight. Twiſting their trunks together, they ſtrive each of them with his utmoſt force, to maintain their own ground, and to move their adverſary from his place. And when the ſtrongeſt of them has at laſt puſhed aſide the trunk of the other, and forced him to turn his flank, he then pierces him with his tuſks, in the ſame manner as bulls in fighting wound each other with their horns. But the greater part of the beaſts that belonged to Ptolemy declined the combat. For this uſually happens to the Elephants of Afric; which are not able to ſupport either the ſmell or cry of the Indian Elephants. Or rather perhaps they are ſtruck with terror at the view of their enormous ſize and ſtrength; ſince even before they approach near together, they frequently turn their backs and fly. And this it was, which at this time happened. As ſoon therefore as theſe animals, being thus diſordered by

their fears, had fallen againſt the ranks of their own army, and forced the Royal Guards to break the Line, Antiochus, ſeizing the occaſion, and advancing round on the outſide of the elephants, charged the Cavalry, which was commanded by Polecrates, in the extremity of the left Wing of Ptolemy. At the ſame time alſo the Grecian mercenaries, who ſtood within the elephants, near the Phalanx, advanced with fury againſt the Peltaſtæ, and routed them with little difficulty, becauſe their ranks likewiſe were already broken by the elephants. Thus the whole left wing of the army of Ptolemy was defeated, and forced to fly.

Echecrates, who commanded in the right, for ſome time waited to obſerve, what would be the event of the engagement upon the left. But when he ſaw that the duſt was driven faſt towards them, and that their elephants fled wholly from the combat, he ordered Phoxidas, who commanded the mercenaries of Greece, to advance againſt the troops that ſtood oppoſite to him in front; while himſelf, having directed his own Cavalry, together with thoſe that were drawn up behind the elephants, to defile along the wing, till they had ſtretched beyond the elephants of the left wing of Antiochus, charged the Cavalry of that wing both in flank and rear, and ſoon cauſed a general rout. Phoxidas alſo, with the troops that were under his command, at the ſame time forced the Arabians and the Medes to fly in great diſorder. Thus Antiochus, who had gained the victory upon his right, was completely vanquiſhed on his left. The Phalanxes alone, being thus ſtripped of both their wings, remained entire in the middle of the plain, and knew not what they ſhould expect or fear.

While Antiochus was purſuing his victory upon the right, Ptolemy, who had retreated behind his Phalanx, advanced now into the centre, and ſhewing himſelf to both armies, ſtruck the enemy with terror, and inſpired his own forces with alacrity and confidence. Andromachus therefore

and

and Sosibius, levelling their spears, advanced without delay against the enemy. The troops of Syria, who were all select men, for some time sustained the charge. But those that were commanded by Nicarchus immediately turned their backs and fled. During this time Antiochus, young and unskilled in war, and judging, from the victory which himself had gained, that the same good fortune had attended also in every other part of the action, still pursued with eagerness the troops that had fled before him. But after some time, when one of the older Generals had desired him to remark the dust that was driven towards his camp by the Phalanx of the enemy, he then saw what had happened, and ran back in haste, attended by his Guards, towards the place of battle. But as the troops were now completely routed, he was forced to retreat to Raphia: being persuaded that, as far as the success had depended on himself, he had gained a perfect victory; and that the battle had been only lost, through the want of spirit, and base cowardice of his troops. Ptolemy, having thus obtained by his Phalanx a complete and decisive victory, and killed also, by his Cavalry and mercenaries of the right wing, great numbers in the pursuit, returned back again to his camp; and on the following day, when he had first interred his soldiers that were slain, and spoiled the bodies of the enemy, he directed his march towards Raphia. Antiochus had at first designed to draw together all his troops, and to incamp without the walls of Raphia: but as the greater part had fled for safety into the city, he was forced also himself to enter it. But early on the following day, he directed his route towards Gaza, with the remains of his army, and there incamped; and from thence sent to obtain permission of Ptolemy, to bury his men also that were slain. He had lost in the action scarcely fewer than ten thousand of his Infantry, with more than three hundred Horse. Above four thousand also were taken prisoners. Three of his elephants were killed in the engagement, and two died afterwards of

their wounds. On the part of Ptolemy were ſlain fifteen hundred Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe. But ſeventeen of the elephants were killed; and a greater number taken. Such was the end of the battle of Raphia between theſe two Princes, for the ſovereignty of Cœle-ſyria.

When Antiochus had diſcharged the laſt duties to his ſoldiers who had fallen in the action, he directed his route back again towards his own kingdom. At the ſame time Ptolemy took poſſeſſion of Raphia without reſiſtance, with the reſt alſo of the neighbouring cities; which all ſeemed to ſtrive together which ſhould be the firſt, to return again to his dominion, and receive him as their maſter. For in ſuch conjunctures, all men indeed are ready to accommodate their reſolutions to the preſent times. But the people eſpecially of Cœle-ſyria are more ſtrongly led by nature to this compliance, than thoſe of any other country. At this time however, their conduct muſt in part be aſcribed to that affection, by which they were before inclined towards the kings of Ægypt. For the multitude through all the province, had always been accuſtomed to regard the princes of this family with ſentiments of high reſpect and veneration. Ptolemy therefore was received among them with crowns, ſacrifices, altars, and every other honour which flattery was able to invent.

As ſoon as Antiochus arrived in ſafety at the city which was called by his own name, he ſent Antipater his nephew, and Theodotus, ambaſſadors to Ptolemy to treat of peace. For he feared that if the enemy ſhould now purſue their victory, his own ſubjects, diſheartened by the late defeat, might perhaps revolt; and that Achæus would be ready alſo to take advantage of the occaſion, which was ſo favourable for his deſigns againſt him. Ptolemy never once reflected upon any of theſe circumſtances: but, ſatisfied with having thus gained a victory, which he ſcarcely had the courage to expect, and finding himſelf again poſſeſſed of Cœle-ſyria, was ſo far from being averſe to peace, that on the contrary he embraced it with

with immoderate haſte; and fled again to that repoſe, to which his indolence and habitual vices forcibly inclined him. As ſoon therefore as the ambaſſadors arrived, having firſt given vent to ſome ſlight expoſtulations and complaints, with reſpect to the attempt that had been formed againſt him by Antiochus, he immediately conſented to a truce for a year, and ſent away Soſibius to ratify the treaty. And when he had paſſed three months in Syria and Phœnice, and reſtored peace and order among all the cities, he left the government of the country to Andromachus of Aſpendus, and returned back again with his Siſter, and his favourites, to Alexandria: having finiſhed the war in a manner which occaſioned no ſmall ſurprize among the people of his kingdom, who were acquainted with his former courſe of life. Antiochus, as ſoon as the treaty was concluded by Soſibius, reſumed his firſt deſign, and began to make the neceſſary preparations for his war againſt Achæus. Such was the ſtate of affairs in Aſia.

CHAP. IX.

ABOUT this time an Earthquake happened at Rhodes, which threw down their vaſt Coloſſus, together with a great part of the walls and naval arſenals. But the Rhodians, by their wiſe and dexterous management, ſo well improved the accident, that, inſtead of being deſtructive to them, it brought many great advantages to their city. So different are the effects of prudence and activity, from thoſe of negligence and folly, as well in public affairs, as in the buſineſs alſo of private life. For through the latter of theſe qualities, even happy events become pernicious; while the former, on the contrary, convert calamities into benefits. Thus the Rhodians, exaggerating all the horrors of the accident that had befallen them, and preſerving ſtill a grave and ſolemn dignity, both in the addreſſes that were made in publick by their ambaſſadors,

dors, and in their own particular deportment, induced the cities, and eſpecially the Kings, not only to ſend gifts of very great value, but even to eſteem it a favour, that their preſents were accepted by them. From Hiero and Gelo, they received ſeventy-five Talents of ſilver, one part of which was paid immediately, and the reſt in a ſhort time afterwards, to furniſh oil for the games of the Gymnaſium; ſome ſilver cauldrons with their baſes; ſome ciſterns for holding water; ten talents, to defray the expence of ſacrifices; and ten more to increaſe the number of the citizens: ſo that the whole amounted to near a hundred Talents. The ſame Princes exempted alſo from all impoſts the veſſels that ſailed from Rhodes; and gave to them likewiſe fifty Catapults, of the length of three Cubits. And yet after all this bounty, as if they had themſelves received ſome favours from the Rhodians, they erected in the publick place of their city a Statue of the people of Rhodes, in the act of receiving a Crown from another Statue, which repreſented the People of Syracuſe. Ptolemy alſo engaged to furniſh them with three hundred Talents of Silver; a million meaſures of corn; with timber to build ten Quinqueremes and ten Triremes; ſome ſquare pieces alſo of fir, the meaſure of which together was forty thouſand Cubits; a thouſand Talents of braſs coin; three thouſand weight of hemp; three thouſand pieces of cloth for ſails; three thouſand Talents for replacing their Coloſſus; a hundred architects, and three hundred and fifty labourers; with fourteen Talents by the year for their ſubſiſtence; twelve thouſand meaſures of corn for their games and ſacrifices; and twenty thouſand for the ſubſiſtence of the ten Triremes. The chief part of theſe preſents was immediately ſent to Rhodes; together with a third part alſo of all the money. In the ſame manner likewiſe, Antigonus ſupplied them with ten thouſand pieces of timber, that was proper to be cut into ſolid blocks, from eight to ſixteen cubits; five thouſand planks of ſeven cubits; three thouſand weight of iron; a thouſand alſo of pitch, with a thouſand meaſures of tar; and promiſed to add beſides,

beſides, a hundred Talents. His wife Chryſeis ſent, on her part, a hundred thouſand meaſures of corn, and three thouſand weight of lead. Seleucus alſo, the father of Antiochus, not content with having diſcharged from impoſts the Rhodian veſſels that ſailed to any part of his dominions, gave them alſo ten Quinqueremes completely equipped; two hundred thouſand meaſures of corn; ten thouſand cubits of timber; and a thouſand weight of hair and reſin. The ſame generoſity was alſo ſhewn towards them, by Pruſias, Mithridates, and all the other princes, who then reigned in Aſia; Lyſanas, Olympicus, and Limnæus. And with regard to the cities, which aſſiſted them as far as their abilities would reach, they are ſcarcely to be numbered. If we look back therefore only to the time in which the Rhodians were firſt eſtabliſhed in their city, we may think it perhaps a matter of ſurprize, that, in the courſe of ſo ſhort a period, they ſhould have gained ſo conſiderable an increaſe, with reſpect both to the private riches of the citizens, and the publick wealth alſo of the State. But on the other hand, if we reflect upon the great advantages, which they derive from the happy ſituation of their city, together with thoſe plentiful ſupplies, that have flowed into it from abroad, we ſhall then find no cauſe of wonder: but rather be perſuaded, that the condition of this people might have been even ſtill more full and flouriſhing.

In recounting thus minutely all the circumſtances that attended this event, my deſign was firſt, to ſhew the uncommon zeal and earneſtneſs, with which the Rhodians ſtruggled to reſtore their country to its former ſtate; a zeal, which indeed is highly worthy both of praiſe and imitation: and in the next place, that it might from hence be ſeen, how ſparingly the Princes of the preſent age diſpenſe their bounty, and of how little value are the Gifts, which the States and Cities now receive. For from theſe examples thoſe princes may be taught, not to boaſt of their munificence, when they

have beſtowed perhaps a preſent of four or five Talents only; nor expect, that the Greeks ſhould offer to them in return the ſame acknowledgements and honours, as were decreed to the Kings of former times. The Cities alſo on the other hand, when they have ſeen the immenſe value of the gifts, that were once beſtowed upon them, may become more reſerved and prudent, and not proſtitute their beſt and nobleſt honours, in return for benefits of little worth; but endeavour rather to make ſo juſt a diſtribution of their favours, as may preſerve their own dignity undiminiſhed, and convince mankind, that the Greeks are ſtill ſuperior to all other people. We now return again to the place, in which we broke off our relation of the Social War.

When the Summer now was come, in which Agetas was the Prætor of the Ætolians, and Aratus of the Achæans, Lycurgus, King of Sparta, was recalled again by the Ephori, who had diſcovered that the ſuſpicions, through which he had been forced to fly, were falſe. He returned therefore to the city from Ætolia, and immediately concerted meaſures with Pyrrhias an Ætolian, who was then the General of the Elean forces, for making an incurſion into the Meſſenian territory. Aratus, at his firſt entrance upon his office, had found that all the mercenary troops of the Republick were broken and diſperſed; and that the Cities no longer paid their contributions to the war: for ſuch were the effects, as we have before obſerved, of the unactive and unſkilful conduct of Eperatus the former Prætor. Having called together therefore the Achæan States, and obtained, by his perſuaſions, ſuch a decree as the circumſtances of affairs required, he applied himſelf with vigour to remedy the paſt diſorders, and complete all the neceſſary preparations for the war. By this Decree it was reſolved, that the Achæans ſhould receive into their pay a body of new mercenaries, conſiſting of eight thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe; that they ſhould raiſe

alſo in Achaia three thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe; that among theſe, there ſhould be five hundred Foot of Megalopolis, armed with brazen bucklers, and fifty Horſe; with an equal number of Argians; and that three veſſels alſo ſhould ſail towards Acte and the Gulph of Argos, and three be ſent over to cover Patræ, and Dyme, with the reſt of the places that ſtood along that coaſt.

While Aratus was thus employed, Pyrrhias and Lycurgus, having agreed together, that they ſhould both at the ſame time begin their march, advanced towards the borders of Meſſenia. Aratus, being informed of their deſign, took with him the mercenaries, and a part alſo of the Achæan forces, and came to Megalopolis, to ſuccour the Meſſenians. Lycurgus, having gained by ſome ſecret practices a fortreſs of the Meſſenians, called Thalamæ, continued his route from thence with the greateſt haſte, in order to join the Eleans. But Pyrrhias on the other hand, who had begun his march from Elis with a very ſmall body of troops, was oppoſed upon the borders of Meſſenia by the Cypariſſians, and forced to return. Lycurgus therefore, being thus prevented from joining the Eleans, as he had at firſt deſigned, and not able, with his own forces, to attempt any action of importance, made ſome ſlight incurſions only upon the neighbouring country, for the ſake of gaining the ſupplies that were neceſſary for his troops, and then led his army back again to Sparta. When the enemy had thus failed in their deſign, Aratus, in order to defeat all ſuch attempts for the time to come, prevailed on Taurion, and the people of Meſſenia, to draw together ſeverally five hundred Foot and fifty Horſe, for the defence of the Meſſenians, Megalopolitans, Argians, and Tegeans, whoſe lands, lying cloſe upon the borders of Laconia, were chiefly expoſed to inſult, while himſelf, with the Achæans and the mercenaries, engaged to cover thoſe parts of Achaia that were ſituated on the ſide of Ætolia and Elea. He afterwards employed all

his pains, to calm the conteſts of the Megalopolitans, and to reſtore peace among them, as the Achæans had directed in their late Decree. For this people, whoſe ſtate and city not long before had been ſubverted by Cleomenes, were wholly deſtitute of many things, and ſcantily ſupplied with all. They retained indeed the ſame high ſpirit as before; but were utterly unable to diſcharge or ſatisfy, either their own particular wants, or the publick neceſſities of the State. Hence aroſe contention, jealouſy, and hot debates: for ſuch are the effects which naturally ſpring, as well in publick States as among private men, whenever they are preſſed by penury, and deprived of the reſources that are neceſſary for carrying into execution their deſigns. Their firſt diſpute related to the manner in which the city ſhould be built. For ſome maintained, that it was neceſſary to contract the former circuit of the walls, that thus they might be able to finiſh what they ſhould begin, and to defend the city alſo againſt an enemy. For it was judged to have been the only cauſe of their late misfortune, that their city was of very great extent, and the inhabitants in proportion few. They contended likewiſe that thoſe who were rich among the citizens, ſhould give up a third part of their lands, in order to obtain ſome new inhabitants. Others on the contrary refuſed with equal warmth, either to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions, or conſent that the circuit of the city ſhould be leſſened. But the chief and moſt important ſubject of their conteſts was a new body of Laws, framed for their uſe by Prytanis, a Peripatetic of diſtinguiſhed eminence, who was ſent to them for that purpoſe by Antigonus. Aratus employed all the methods that ſeemed likely to be moſt effectual for calming theſe diſorders, and at laſt accompliſhed his deſign. Their diſſenſions were all compoſed: and the conditions of the agreement engraved upon a Column, which was erected near the altar of Veſta at Omarium. He then went from Megalopolis, to be preſent in the Council of the Achæan

Achæan ſtates: having left the mercenaries to the care of Lycus a citizen of Pharæ; who, on account of the contributions which his city had advanced for the uſes of the war, ſtood the next in authority and command, after the Achæan Prætor.

The Eleans, diſſatisfied with Pyrrhias, invited Euripidas, who was alſo an Ætolian, to be their General. Euripidas, having waited till the Achæans were aſſembled together to hold their general Council, began his march at the head of two thouſand Foot and ſixty Horſe, and paſſing through the Pharæan diſtrict waſted all the country as far as to the borders of the Ægian territory; and when he had gained an immenſe booty, he retired towards Leontium. But Lycus, being informed of what had happened, marched away with diligence; and falling ſuddenly upon the enemy in their retreat, he killed four hundred of them, and took two hundred priſoners; among whom were ſome officers of eminence, Phyſſias, Antanor, Clearchus, Androlochus, Evanoridas, Ariſtogiton, Nicaſippus, Aſpaſius. He became maſter alſo of their arms, and all their baggage. About the ſame time the commander of the Achæan fleet ſteered his courſe to Molycria, and returned again with near a hundred ſlaves. From thence, ſailing towards Chalcia, and being there attacked by ſome veſſels of the enemy, he took two long barks with all their men. He took alſo a ſmall frigate, completely equipped, near Rhium in Ætolia. This ſucceſs, which happened at the ſame time upon land and ſea, ſpread ſo great a plenty both of money and proviſions through the Achæan army, that the troops were now fully aſſured that their ſtipends would be regularly paid, and the cities alſo began to hope, that they no longer ſhould be loaded with contributions for the war.

About the time of theſe tranſactions, Scerdilaidas, being incenſed againſt king Philip, becauſe ſome part of the ſum, which this prince had engaged to pay to him, remained undiſcharged,

diſcharged, ſent away a fleet of fifteen ſhips, deſigning to recover by ſurpriſe and fraud the money that was due. Theſe veſſels firſt ſteered their courſe to Leucas; and being received into the port as friends in conſequence of the late alliance, they committed indeed, through want of opportunity, no other hoſtilities in the place: but when Agathynus and Caſſander, citizens of Corinth, came and caſt anchor, as friends alſo, in the harbour, with four ſhips which belonged to Taurion, they immediately attacked them in direct breach of the alliance, and having taken both the captains and their veſſels, ſent them away to Scerdilaidas. After this exploit, they directed their courſe to Malea, pillaged many veſſels in their way, and carried the merchants into ſlavery.

As the ſeaſon of the harveſt now approached, and Taurion had neglected to ſecure by a ſufficient force the frontiers of thoſe cities, which have before been mentioned, Aratus drew together a ſelect body of troops, to cover and ſupport the Argians, who were employed in gathering in their corn. About the ſame time alſo, Euripidas began his march at the head of the Eleans, with deſign to ravage the lands of the Tritæans. But when Lycus and Demodocus, who commanded the Achæan Cavalry, were informed that theſe troops had quitted their own province, they aſſembled all the forces of the Patræans, Dymæans, and Pharæans, together with the mercenaries, and reſolved to make incurſions into the Elean territory. Advancing therefore as far as to the town called Phyxium, they ſent away the cavalry and light-armed forces to waſte the country, having at the ſame time concealed their heavy-armed troops in ambuſcade, in the neighbourhood of the town. The Eleans ran together from every part to attack the pillagers; and as theſe retired before them, they began alſo to purſue with eagerneſs. But Lycus, with the troops that were placed in ambuſcade, ſuddenly aroſe and charged the foremoſt of them. The Eleans, upon the firſt appearance of

theſe

theſe heavy-armed forces, immediately turned their backs and fled. About two hundred of them were killed in the place, and eighty taken priſoners; while the Achæans retreated with their booty, without any loſs. About this time, the commander alſo of the Achæan fleet made frequent deſcents upon Ætolia, in the neighbourhood of Calydon and Naupactus; plundered all the coaſt; and twice defeated the troops that were ſent againſt him. He took priſoner alſo Cleonicus, a citizen of Naupactus. But becauſe he had formerly been connected with the Achæans by the ties of hoſpitality, inſtead of being ſold together with the reſt, he was diſmiſſed, within a ſhort time afterwards, without any ranſom. About the ſame time alſo, Agetas the Ætolian Prætor, having aſſembled all the forces of the country, ravaged the whole provinces of Acarnania and Epirus: and when he had accompliſhed all that he had deſigned, he returned back again, and diſmiſſed the Ætolians to their ſeveral cities. The Acarnanians on the other hand made an incurſion into the neighbourhood of Stratus. But becauſe their troops were on a ſudden ſeized with a Panic Terror, they were forced to return back again with ſome diſgrace, though not with any loſs. For the inhabitants of Stratus, being apprehenſive that their intention was to draw them into an ambuſcade, feared to follow them in their retreat.

About this time, a piece of feigned treachery was practiſed in Phanoteus, in the following manner. Alexander, who was intruſted by king Philip with the government of Phocis, formed the deſign of ſurprizing the Ætolians, and employed for that purpoſe Jaſon, who commanded under him in Phanoteus. This Officer, having ſent ſome meſſengers to Agetas the Ætolian Prætor, engaged to ſurrender to him the citadel of the city. The agreement ſoon was ſettled, and confirmed alſo by the accuſtomed oaths. On the appointed day, Agetas advanced with his army in the night into the neighbourhood

hood of Phanoteus: and having ſelected a hundred of the braveſt of his troops, he ſent them away to take poſſeſſion of the citadel, and concealed the reſt at ſome diſtance without the walls. In the mean while Alexander, with a ſufficient body of troops, ſtood in readineſs within the city; and as ſoon as Jaſon, agreeably to his Oath, had introduced the hundred Ætolians into the citadel, he ſhewed himſelf and fell upon them, ſo that they were forced immediately to ſurrender. Agetas, as ſoon as the day appeared, perceived what had happened, and retreated back again with his forces; having been taken in a ſnare, not unlike to thoſe, which himſelf had often practiſed againſt others.

About the ſame time alſo, Philip reduced Bylazora, the largeſt city of all Pæonia, and which commanded likewiſe thoſe defiles, that led from Dardania into Macedon. By this conqueſt therefore he was freed from all farther apprehenſions, with regard to the people of that province. For as long as he ſhould remain maſter of this city, it would be ſcarcely poſſible that they ſhould make incurſions into his kingdom. When he had ſecured the place by a ſufficient garriſon, he ſent away Chryſogonus, to draw together with all diligence the forces of the upper Macedon: and himſelf, taking with him the troops that were at Bottia and Amphaxis, began his march and came to Edeſa. And being in this place joined by Chryſogonus, he advanced with all his army; and having on the ſixth day paſſed beyond Lariſſa, and continued his march all night with the greateſt haſte, he arrived near Melitæa about break of day, and began immediately to ſcale the city. The inhabitants, who were wholly unprepared againſt this accident, were ſo ſtruck with conſternation, that they might ſoon have been reduced with little difficulty. But becauſe the ladders were too ſhort, the King failed in the attempt.

Among all the faults into which the leaders of an army are at any time betrayed, there are none that more juſtly deſerve our

our cenſure, than that which was now committed. For how can thoſe Generals be excuſed, who, without having taken any due precaution, without meaſuring the walls, and rocks, and other places by which they deſign to approach a city, ruſh blindly on to the attack? Or can thoſe on the other hand be thought leſs worthy of reproach and blame, who, when they have informed themſelves of the height and dimenſions of thoſe objects, leave to any perſons, whom chance ſhall offer, the care of preparing the ladders, with all the other neceſſary inſtruments: thoſe inſtruments which, though they may indeed be framed by a moderate degree of ſkill, are yet of the utmoſt importance in their uſe? For in things of this kind nothing that is neceſſary can be omitted without ſome loſs. The neglect indeed, how ſmall ſoever, will immediately be followed by it's puniſhment. For either in the very time of the attack, the braveſt of the troops are loſt: or when they are forced to deſiſt from their deſign, and to retire before an exulting enemy, who deſpiſes their ineffectual efforts, they are then expoſed to a ſtill greater danger than before. The truth of this remark might be ſhewn from numberleſs examples. For among all that have failed in ſuch attempts, the greater part have either periſhed in the place, or been involved in the utmoſt hazard and diſtreſs, while few on the other hand have been able to eſcape with ſafety. It muſt alſo be acknowledged that ſuch attempts, eſpecially when fruſtrated, draw after them diſtruſt and hatred; and afford a ſtanding and a publick admonition, not to thoſe only that are preſent, but to all who hear of the event, to ſecure themſelves effectually againſt ſuch enemies. Thoſe therefore who are intruſted with the conduct of affairs, ought never to engage in ſuch deſigns, unleſs the means that are required for carrying them into execution have all firſt been regulated with the niceſt care. With regard to the meaſure and conſtruction of ladders and other inſtruments, there is a method for it, which

is both eaſy and infallible. But we muſt now proceed in our narration: and ſhall take perhaps, at ſome future time, occaſion to reſume this ſubject; and explain the manner in which ſuch enterprizes may be conducted, with the beſt aſſurance of ſucceſs.

The King, when he thus had failed in his deſign, went and incamped near the river Enipeus, and drew together, from Lariſſa and the other cities, all the ſtores which he had collected during the preceding winter, in order to form the ſiege of Thebes in Phthiotis: for the chief deſign and purpoſe of his preſent expedition was to render himſelf maſter of this place. The city of Thebes is ſituated near the ſea, at the diſtance of three hundred ſtadia from Lariſſa, and commands both Theſſaly and Magneſia; thoſe parts eſpecially of the latter Province which lie contiguous to Demetrias; and in the former, the diſtricts of Pharſalus and Pheræ. With this advantage, the Ætolians, who were at this time in poſſeſſion of the city, fell frequently with great ſucceſs upon the neighbouring country, and occaſioned no ſmall loſs to the people of Demetrias and Pharſalus, and even to thoſe of Lariſſa likewiſe: for they often extended their incurſions as far as to the plain Amyricum. Philip therefore, having reſolved to employ his utmoſt efforts, to become maſter of the place, brought together a hundred and fifty Catapults, with twenty-five Machines for throwing ſtones, and having divided his army into three ſeparate bodies, lodged himſelf in the neareſt poſts. The firſt diviſion incamped near Scopium; the ſecond, in the neighbourhood of Heliotropium; and the laſt was ſeated upon a hill which overlooked the city. He fortified the ſpace alſo that was between the camps, with an intrenchment and a double palliſade; and with towers of wood, placed at a diſtance of a hundred paces from each other, and ſecured by a ſufficient guard. And when he had collected together all the ſtores, and completed the preparations that were neceſ-

ſary,

ſary, he ordered the machines to approach, and began his attack againſt the citadel. During the three firſt days, the beſieged reſiſted all his efforts with ſo great bravery and firmneſs, that the works were not much advanced. But when the continual ſkirmiſhes, and the darts that were diſcharged without any intermiſſion, had deſtroyed or wounded great numbers of the inhabitants, they then ſlackened in their ardour, and afforded leiſure to the Macedonian miners to begin their work. But ſuch was the difficulty of the ground, that after nine days continued labour, they were ſcarcely able to approach near the walls. As they perſiſted however in the taſk by turns, without any reſpite either by day or night, in the courſe of three days more they had undermined the wall to the length of two hundred paces, and placed props of timber under it. But theſe in a ſhort time ſunk beneath the weight; ſo that the wall fell down, even before the Macedonians had ſet fire to the wood. They then cleared away, with the greateſt diligence, the ruins of the breach, and were juſt ready to advance to the aſſault, when the beſieged were ſtruck with terror and ſurrendered. By this conqueſt the king not only ſecured both Theſſaly and Magneſia againſt the incurſions of the Ætolians, and deprived that people of their accuſtomed booty, but at the ſame time alſo convinced the troops, that if they had failed in the ſiege of Palæa, the treachery of Leontius had been alone the cauſe of their miſcarriage, and that he had juſtly puniſhed him with death. Being thus become maſter of the place, he ordered the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves; and having filled the city likewiſe with a colony from Macedon, he changed the name of it from Thebes to Philippi.

About this time, ſome ambaſſadors arrived again from Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and from Ptolemy, to mediate a peace. Philip, having repeated to them the anſwer which he had made before, that he was heartily diſpoſed to embrace a-

peace, ordered them to go and inform themſelves, whether the ſentiments of the Ætolians were the ſame. But in reality he was not in the leaſt ſollicitous with reſpect to peace; but rather was inclined to purſue the courſe that was before him. Having received notice therefore, that Scerdilaidas infeſted the ſeas round Malea, and pillaged all the merchants; and that ſome even of his own veſſels had been attacked in the port of Leucas in contempt of treaties, he immediately equipped twelve decked ſhips, eight open barks, and thirty biremes, and ſteered his courſe through the Euripus. His intention was, to ſurprize the Illyrians, and to give an early and effectual check to the inſolence of thoſe pirates, that he might then be able to reſume with vigour the war againſt the Ætolians, which was ſtill the object of his chief attention, becauſe he was at this time ignorant of all that had paſſed in Italy. For while he was employed in the ſiege of Thebes, the Romans were defeated in Tyrrhenia by Annibal. But the news of that battle had not yet arrived in Greece.

The Illyrian barks had retired however from thoſe ſeas, before the King was able to arrive. Having caſt anchor therefore in the port of Cenchreæ, and ordered, that the decked ſhips ſhould ſail round Malea to Ægium and Patræ, he drew the reſt of his veſſels over the Iſthmus, and commanded them to take their ſtation in the harbour of Lechæum; while himſelf went from thence to Argos, together with his friends, to be preſent at the Nemean Games.

As he was ſitting there, to behold the combats, a Courier arrived from Macedon, with the news, that the Romans had been defeated in a great battle, and that Annibal was now the maſter of all the open country. Philip immediately ſhewed his letters to Demetrius of Pharos, but to none beſides; and cautioned him to be ſilent. Demetrius ſeized the occaſion, and preſſed the King to put an end at once to his war againſt the Ætolians; that he might be able to employ all his forces

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to reduce Illyria, and from thence to paſs afterwards into Italy. He repreſented to him, "that the States of Greece, as they were now well pleaſed to comply with all that was impoſed, would be ready likewiſe in all future times to receive his laws, and pay an entire ſubmiſſion to his will: that the Achæans were by inclination ſtrongly fixed in all his intereſts; and that the Ætolians, deterred by the misfortunes that had happened to them in the preſent war, would fear to engage in any new deſigns againſt him: that his paſſing into Italy would in effect be the moſt important ſtep towards the conqueſt of the world: that ſuch an enterprize belonged to none more properly than to himſelf: and that the time alſo for it was now moſt ſeaſonable, in which the Romans had been defeated with ſo great a loſs." This diſcourſe did not fail to make a very quick and deep impreſſion upon the King: young as he then was, and fortunate in all his projects; bold and enterprizing in his nature; and deſcended alſo from a houſe, whoſe Princes always had conceived the hope of being able to acquire the ſovereignty of the world.

In a ſhort time therefore, though he had ſhewn, as we have ſaid, his letters only to Demetrius, he aſſembled together all his friends in Council, and demanded their opinions with reſpect to a peace with the Ætolians. Aratus was by no means averſe to peace; for he thought that all things might be now accommodated with ſome advantage to themſelves, becauſe they were ſuperior in the war. The King therefore, not expecting the return of thoſe ambaſſadors who had been employed to mediate a peace, deputed to the Ætolians Cleonicus of Naupactus; who, from the time in which he firſt was taken, had ſtill remained near the King, waiting for the Aſſembly of the Achæan States. He then left Corinth, and advanced with his fleet and army towards Ægium. And when he arrived at Laſion, that he might not ſhew too great an eagerneſs to put an end to the war, he attacked and ſtormed a for-

a fortreſs that was built upon the ruins of that city; and threatened alſo to make an incurſion into the Elean territory. But afterwards when Cleonicus had returned twice or thrice, and the Ætolians were earneſt to obtain a perſonal conference, he reſolved to comply with their requeſt; and having put a ſtop to all hoſtilities, ſent couriers to the cities of the allies, deſiring them to depute ſome perſons, to deliberate with him concerning the conditions of the peace. He then went and incamped with his army near Panormus, a port of Peloponneſus, which lies oppoſite to Naupactus, and there waited the arrival of the deputies. But before they were aſſembled, he paſſed over to Zacynthus, and having regulated certain matters in that iſland which required his preſence, he returned back again to Panormus.

When the deputies arrived, the King ſent away Taurion and Aratus, with ſome others that were preſent: who, when they had joined the Ætolians at Naupactus, and had ſeen, in one ſhort interview, that they were earneſtly inclined to peace, returned again without delay, and brought alſo with them ſome ambaſſadors from the Ætolians, who preſſed the King to paſs over to them with his army, that the conferences might be held face to face, and all diſputes more eaſily be accommodated. Philip yielded to their ſollicitations, and having embarked his troops, ſailed over to Ætolia, and incamped at the diſtance of about twenty ſtadia from Naupactus. And having thrown up an intrenchment round his camp and veſſels, he waited there till the conferences ſhould begin. The Ætolians all met together, without their arms, at the diſtance of two ſtadia only from the camp, and from thence ſent their deputies to the conference. The King propoſed to them, by the ambaſſadors of the allies, as the firſt condition of the Peace, that they ſhould keep on all ſides what they then poſſeſſed. To this the Ætolians readily conſented. With regard to other points, there were afterwards

frequent deputations and debates; the greater part of which were of ſuch ſmall importance, that they need not be particularly mentioned. But the Diſcourſe which was made by Agelaus of Naupactus, in preſence of the King and of the ambaſſadors of the Allies, at the time of the firſt interview, was ſuch as well deſerves to be related.

He ſaid then, "that it ſeemed to be a point of the greateſt moment, that the States of Greece ſhould now at laſt all reſolve to lay aſide their mutual wars and conteſts, and eſteem it as the greateſt happineſs which the Gods could give, if they once could be induced to unite together in heart and ſentiments, and taking each other by the hand, like men that are obliged to ford a dangerous ſtream, join all their ſtrength to ſtand againſt the attacks of foreign enemies, and ſecure their cities and themſelves from falling a prey to any barbarous people. That though ſuch an union might perhaps, in all its parts, and for any long continuance, be found impracticable, it was however highly neceſſary, that at leaſt in this conjuncture they ſhould all ſtand firm in one agreement, and join in common meaſures for the common ſafety. That in order to be well aſſured of this neceſſity, they might only turn their eyes upon the greatneſs of thoſe armaments, that were at this time in the field, and the importance of the War in which the Powers abroad were now engaged. That all who were poſſeſſed of even a moderate portion of diſcernment in the affairs of policy, muſt be able clearly to perceive, that the conquerors in this war, whether the Carthaginians or the Romans, would never reſt contented with the ſovereignty of Sicily and Italy, but go on to ſpread wide their victories, and extend their acquiſitions beyond all juſt and reaſonable bounds. He conjured them therefore with the greateſt earneſtneſs, and Philip above all the reſt, to ſecure themſelves in time againſt the impending danger. That with regard to Philip, this ſecurity might moſt effectually be obtained, if inſtead

ſtead of weakening, as he had hitherto done, the ſtrength and forces of the Greeks, he rather would regard them all as the members of his own Body, and attend to the ſafety of their provinces with no leſs vigilance and care, than if they were in truth the natural and proper parts of his own dominions. That by ſuch a conduct the Greeks would all be fixed unalterably in his intereſts, and ready to aſſiſt him in his projects: and that by this attachment to him, not leſs weighty than ſincere, all ſtrangers would effectually be deterred from forming any deſigns againſt his kingdom. That if this Prince however was eager to be employed in action, let him turn his eyes towards the Weſt, and obſerve what paſſed in Italy. That by a wiſe and diligent attention to all that now ſhould happen in that country, he might find at laſt perhaps ſome fair occaſion for opening to Himſelf the way to Univerſal Empire. That the condition of the preſent times ſeemed greatly to encourage ſuch a hope. He preſſed him therefore to lay aſide all farther thoughts of conteſt or diſſenſion among the Greeks; and above all things, to be careful not to loſe the power of making war upon them, or of concluding peace, whenever himſelf ſhould chooſe. For if, continued he, this Cloud, which is now ſeen hovering in the Weſt, ſhould at laſt ſettle and diſcharge itſelf upon the provinces of Greece, how greatly do I fear, that an end will be put at once both to our wars and treaties, and to all thoſe childiſh conteſts in which we are now ſo wantonly engaged: and that all of us muſt then be forced to implore it as a bleſſing from the Gods, that we may be permitted to enjoy the power of taking arms againſt each other, and of laying them down again, as we ſhall judge it to be moſt expedient; or in a word, of ſettling any of our differences by our own deciſion."

This Diſcourſe filled all the allies with a ſtrong deſire of peace. Philip eſpecially was deeply affected by thoſe ſentiments, that were ſo perfectly adapted to his own deſigns, and

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to the temper into which Demetrius had already raiſed him. As ſoon therefore as they had ſettled the conditions, and ratified the treaty, they all returned again, with peace, to their reſpective countries. Theſe events all happened in the third year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad: the defeat of the Romans in Tyrrhenia; the battle between Ptolemy and Antiochus for the ſovereignty of Cœle-ſyria; and the concluſion of the war of Philip and the Achæans, againſt the Ætolians. This therefore was the time, in which the affairs of Greece were now firſt connected with thoſe of Italy and Afric. For after this period, Philip and the States of Greece no longer regulated their deſigns, either with reſpect to war or peace, by the condition of their own country, but all turned their eyes to Italy, to find there the mark by which all their counſels were to be directed. The people of Aſia likewiſe, and of the Iſlands, ſoon followed the example: and from this time, whenever they had any cauſe of diſſenſion and complaint againſt Attalus or Philip, inſtead of imploring aid from Antiochus and Ptolemy, inſtead of paying any regard to the South and Eaſt, they on the contrary fixed their whole attention upon the Weſt, and ſometimes ſent ambaſſadors to the Carthaginians, and ſometimes to the Romans. The Romans, on the other hand, deputed likewiſe an embaſſy into Greece. For as they well knew the bold and enterprizing ſpirit of Philip, they were filled with no ſmall apprehenſions, that this Prince would take advantage alſo of the times, and add a new embarraſſment to the difficulties in which they already were involved.

Thus then have we ſhewn, agreeably to our firſt deſign, at what time, in what manner, and from what cauſes, the affairs of Greece were firſt connected with thoſe of Italy and Afric. As ſoon therefore as we ſhall have continued the tranſactions of the Grecian Hiſtory, to the time in which the Romans were defeated in the battle of Cannæ, and at which

we broke off our relation of the war in Italy, we ſhall then alſo cloſe this Book.

As ſoon as the war was ended, the Achæans choſe Timoxenus for their Prætor, and, with the reſt of the people of Peloponneſus, returning to their own proper laws and cuſtoms, and ordinary courſe of life, began to reſume the care of their eſtates, to cultivate their lands, and to reſtore again the ſacrifices, publick games, and all the other rights that were peculiar to their country, and which, among the greater part, had almoſt ſunk into oblivion, through the long continuance of thoſe wars, in which they had ſucceſſively been engaged. For I know not whence it happens, that the people of Peloponneſus, who ſeem of all men moſt ſtrongly inclined by nature to cultivate the ſoft arts of peace and ſocial life, have leſs enjoyed thoſe bleſſings, than almoſt any nation of the world, at leaſt in ancient times. They rather indeed have been, as the Poet Euripides expreſſes it,

Vex'd with perpetual toils, and ceaſeleſs war.

The cauſe however, to which this evil fortune muſt be aſcribed, may be found alſo in their nature. For being paſſionately fond of freedom, and eager to retain the ſupreme command, they chooſe to have recourſe continually to arms, rather than yield a ſtep to any rival power. The Athenians, on the contrary, no ſooner were delivered from their apprehenſions of the Macedonians, than they began to be perſuaded, that the freedom of their State was now ſecurely fixed upon a firm and ſolid ground. Refuſing therefore any more to bear a part in the affairs of Greece, and ſubmitting themſelves without reſerve, to the guidance of Micyon and Euryclidas, they decreed immoderate honours to all the Kings, eſpecially to Ptolemy: and, through the indiſcretion of thoſe magiſtrates, conſented, without reſtraint or ſhame, to every ſordid act of flattery,

flattery, and carried their adulation to ſo great exceſs, that it exceeded even all the bounds of decency.

Not long after this time, Ptolemy was engaged in war againſt the people of his own kingdom. In arming the Ægyptians for the war againſt Antiochus, he had acted wiſely indeed with reſpect to the preſent times; but with regard to the future, this meaſure was attended with moſt pernicious conſequences. For the people, elated by the victory which they had gained at Raphia, began to reject with haughtineſs the orders of the King: and being perſuaded that they had ſtrength ſufficient to regain their liberty, they now only waited for a Chief, to go before them in the attempt which they already had concerted, and which not long afterwards was carried into execution.

Antiochus, having made great preparations during the winter, as ſoon as the ſummer approached paſſed beyond mount Taurus, entered into an alliance with King Attalus, and began his war againſt Achæus.

The Ætolians were at firſt well pleaſed, that they had put an end to a war, which had proved ſo contrary to all their hopes. They choſe therefore for their Prætor Agelaus of Naupactus, by whoſe zeal and pains the peace had chiefly been concluded. Yet ſcarcely any time had paſſed, when they fell again into diſcontent and murmurs, and threw out bitter reproaches againſt this Magiſtrate; who, by having made the peace not with any ſingle people, but with all the States of Greece, had cut off at once all the means of plunder to which they had been accuſtomed, and had left them deſtitute of every hope. But Agelaus ſupported their unjuſt complaints with ſo great firmneſs, that he reſtrained the madneſs of their inclinations, and forced them, even againſt their nature, to be quiet.

King Philip, after the concluſion of the peace, returned by ſea to Macedon: and being informed that Scerdilaidas,

uſing ſtill the ſame pretence upon which he had before ſurprized ſome veſſels at Leucas, had now pillaged a little town of Pelagonia, called Piſſæum; and in Daſſaretis, had received upon terms of treaty the cities of Phæbatis, Antipatria, Chryſondion, and Geruns; and that he had ravaged a conſiderable part of Macedon, which lay upon the confines of theſe cities; he immediately began his march with a body of forces, in order to recover again theſe places, and to give, if it was poſſible, an entire defeat to Scerdilaidas. For he judged it to be above all things neceſſary, that he ſhould firſt firmly ſettle the affairs of Illyria, and by that means obtain full leiſure to purſue without reſtraint his other projects, and eſpecially his expedition into Italy. For this deſign was ſo continually preſſed upon him by Demetrius, that it not only filled his mind all day, but even by night became the ſubject of his dreams. This earneſtneſs however, with which Demetrius thus urged the King to tranſport his forces into Italy, by no means ſprung from any deſire to advance the intereſts of Philip: though this perhaps might be admitted as a third conſideration in his mind. But as on the one hand he was himſelf inflamed with a ſtrong and inveterate hatred againſt the Romans, ſo he was perſuaded alſo on the other hand, that if this project ſhould be carried into execution, he ſhould be able to recover again the ſovereignty which he had loſt in Pharos. Philip then advancing with his army, regained the cities that were juſt now mentioned: and having taken alſo in Daſſaretis, Creonium and Geruns: upon the lake Lychnidia, Enchelanæ, Cerax, Station, and Boii; in the diſtrict of the Calicœnians, Bantia; and in that of the Pyſſantines, Orgyſus; he then ſent his army into winter quarters. This was the winter, in which Annibal having ravaged all the nobleſt parts of Italy, fixed his camp near Gerunium in Daunia; and in which the Romans alſo choſe for Conſuls, Caius Terentius, and Æmilius.

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The King, while he remained in winter quarters, reflected with himſelf, that, in order more effectually to advance his projects, it would be neceſſary to provide a naval armament, completely equipped: not with deſign to carry on the war by ſea againſt the Romans, which he could ſcarcely hope to do with any kind of advantage or ſucceſs; but that he might be able to tranſport his forces from place to place, as occaſion ſhould demand, and fall upon the enemy before they could be informed of his approach. And as the veſſels that were at this time uſed among the Illyrians ſeemed moſt proper for this purpoſe, he reſolved to build upon that model a hundred Barks; and was the firſt indeed of all the kings of Macedon, that ever had engaged in ſuch an undertaking. When the veſſels were all finiſhed and equipped, and the ſummer began alſo to approach, he drew together his forces; and having employed a little time to inſtruct the Macedonians in the exerciſe of the oar, he ſailed out to ſea, about the time in which Antiochus paſſed beyond mount Taurus: and ſteering his courſe through the Euripus, and round the promontory Malea, he arrived near the iſlands Cephallenia and Leucas, and waited at anchor there, attending to the motions of the Roman fleet. And when he was informed, that ſome of their veſſels, which had directed their courſe to Lilybæum, remained ſtill at anchor in that port, he again ſailed out to ſea, and advanced with confidence as far as to the coaſt of Apollonia. But as he approached the mouth of the river Lous, which flows through that part of the country, a Panic Terror, not unlike to thoſe which are ſometimes ſeen in the armies upon land, ran ſuddenly through all the fleet. For ſome barks that had ſailed in the rear of all the reſt, and had caſt anchor near the iſland Saſon, at the entrance of the Ionian ſea, came by night to Philip, and informed him, that certain veſſels, arriving from the Straits, had joined them near that iſland, and acquainted them, that they had left at Rhegium ſome Roman

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Quinqueremes, which were ſailing towards Apollonia, to aſſiſt Scerdilaidas. Philip therefore, being apprehenſive that this fleet was juſt ready to appear in ſight, immediately weighed anchor, and directed his courſe back again with the greateſt haſte. And when he had continued his flight, both by night and day, without any intermiſſion, he arrived again on the ſecond day at Cephallenia; and having in ſome degree reſumed his courage, he caſt anchor there, and pretended that ſome affairs in Peloponneſus had forced him to return.

But theſe fears were found at laſt to be entirely falſe and groundleſs. It was true indeed, that Scerdilaidas, having been informed that Philip had equipped a naval armament, and not doubting but that this Prince would ſoon arrive by ſea, and renew the war againſt him, had implored ſome ſuccours from the Romans; who ſent accordingly to his aſſiſtance ten veſſels, from the fleet which lay at Lilybæum: and theſe were the ſhips, that had been ſeen at Rhegium. But if Philip, inſtead of being hurried into a raſh and inconſiderate flight, had waited the arrival of theſe veſſels, he not only muſt have gained an eaſy victory againſt them, but might alſo have obtained a moſt fair occaſion for reducing all Illyria. For the great progreſs and ſucceſs of Annibal, with the battle which had been fought but juſt before at Cannæ, engaged at this time all the attention of the Romans. But the King, being ſtruck, as we have ſaid, by vain and ſenſeleſs apprehenſions, returned again with diſgrace to Macedon, though not with any loſs.

About this time alſo, a very memorable exploit was performed by Pruſias. The Gauls, who, on account of the high fame which they had gained in arms, had been brought by Attalus from Europe, to aſſiſt him in his war againſt Achæus, having left the ſervice of that Prince in the manner which we before have mentioned, committed horrid outrages and devaſtations in many of the cities of the Helleſpont, and at laſt laid ſiege to

Ilium. But the people of Alexandria in Troas ſent againſt them four thouſand men under the conduct of Themiſtes, and forced them to raiſe the ſiege. And having intercepted likewiſe their proviſions, and defeated them in every project, they at laſt conſtrained them to abandon all the province. Being thus driven from Troas, they then ſeized Ariſba in the Abydenian diſtrict; and from thence making their incurſions, pillaged and inſulted all the cities that were near. Pruſias therefore led an army againſt them in the field, and engaged them in a ſet battle. The men were all deſtroyed in the action: their wives and children ſlaughtered in the camp: and their baggage left a prey to the conquerors. By this great victory, the cities of the Helleſpont were at once delivered from their fears: and the Barbarians of Europe alſo were inſtructed for the time to come, not raſhly to engage in the deſign of paſſing into Aſia.

Such then was the condition of affairs in Aſia, and in Greece. In Italy, after the defeat at Cannæ, the greater part of the neighbouring people joined themſelves to the Carthaginians, as we have already mentioned. But as we have now completed our relation of thoſe tranſactions that happened in the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, we ſhall here cloſe this Book: and in that which follows, after a ſhort and ſummary review of the events that have already been related, we ſhall go on, agreeably to our deſign and promiſe, to deſcribe the form and conſtitution of the Roman Government.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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